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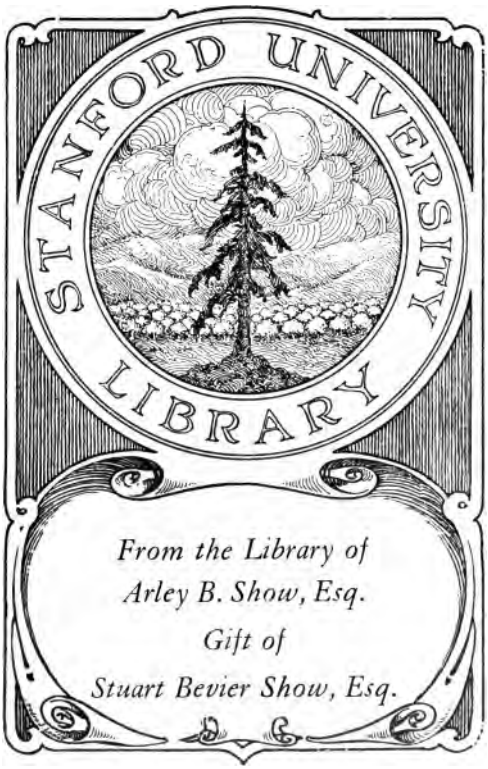
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MUH-HE-KA-NE-OK

A HISTORY OF THE

STOCKBRIDGE NATION

—BY—

J. N. DAVIDSON, A. M.

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To the people of my first pastorate,---the Congregational churches of Stoughton and Cooksville, and the Presbyterian church of Cambridge, Wisconsin,---this narrative is inscribed with grateful remembrance.

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INTRODUCTION.

The point of view from which this narrative has been prepared is that of one writing the history of certain Wisconsin churches,—those that are or have been in connection with the ecclesiastical body organized 1839, January 17th, as the Presbytery of Wisconsin, and re-organized 1840, October 6th, as the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin. First of these chronologically, and in certain other respects as well, was that among the Stockbridge Indians. But the history of this church could not be adequately given without telling that also of its people. Thus what was designed to be a chapter has become a little book,—a monograph.

"I am a true Native American, descended from one of those characters whose memory every true American reveres. My grandfather, David Nau-nau-neek-nuk, was a warrior, and he assisted your fathers in their struggle for liberty."

Thus Waun-nau-con, alias John W. Quinney, began a memorial to the Congress of the United States, dated at Washington 1852, April 12th. † He was asking for citizenship and a home. As legend comes before authentic history we will let him tell, as he did in a Fourth of July speech ‡ some of the traditions of his people:

"About the year 1645, and when King Ben (the last of the hereditary chiefs of the Muh-he-con-new Nation) was in his prime, a Grand Council was convened of the Muh-he-con-new tribe, for the purpose of conveying from the old to the young men, a knowledge of the past. Councils, for this object especially, had ever, at stated periods, been held. Here for the space of two moons, the stores of memory were dispensed; corrections and comparisons made, and

† NOTE.—What seems to be an older form of this name is Quinequaunt. The W probably stands for the Indian name preceding.

‡ NOTE.—At Reidsville, New York, 1854.

the results committed to faithful breasts, to be transmitted again to succeeding posterity.

"Many years after, another, and a last Council of this kind was held; and the traditions reduced to writing, by two of our young men, who had been taught to read and write, in the school of the Rev. John Sergeant, of Stockbridge, Massachusetts. They were obtained, in some way, by a white man, for publication, who, soon after, dying all trace of them became lost. The traditions of the tribe, however, have mainly been preserved; of which I give you substantially the following:

" 'A great people came from the North-West: crossed over the salt-waters, and after long and weary pilgrimages, (planting many colonies on their track,) took possession, and built their fires upon the Atlantic coast, extending from the Delaware on the south, to the Penobscot on the north. They became, in process of time, divided into different tribes and interests; all, however, speaking one common dialect. This great confederacy, comprising Delawares, Munsees, Mohegans, Narragansetts, Pequots, Penobscots, and many others, (of whom a few are now scattered among the distant wilds of the West—others supporting a weak, tottering existence; while, by far, a larger remainder have passed that bourne to which their brethren are tending,) held its Council once a year, to deliberate on the general welfare. Patriarchial delegates from each tribe attended, assisted by priests and wise men, who communicated the will, and invoked the blessing, of the Great and Good Spirit. The policy and decisions of this Council were every where respected, and inviolably observed. Thus contentment smiled upon their existence, and they were happy. Their religion, communicated by priests and prophets, was simple and true. The manner of worship is imperfectly transmitted; but their reverence for a Great and Good Spirit—(whom they referred to by looking or pointing upwards,) the observance of feasts and fasts, in each year; the offering of beasts in thanksgiving and for atonement, is clearly expressed. They believed the soul to be immortal;—in the existence of a happy land beyond the view, inhabited by those whose lives had been blameless: while for the wicked had been a region of misery reserved, covered with thorns and thistles, where comfort and pleasure were unknown. Time was divided into years and seasons;

twelve moons for a year, and a number of years by so many winters.

"The tribe, to which your speaker belongs, and of which there were many bands, occupied and possessed the country from the sea-shore, at Manhattan, to Lake Champlain. Having found an ebb and flow of the tide, they said: 'This is Muh-he-con-new,'—'like our waters, which are never still.' From this expression, and by this name, they were afterwards known, until their removal to Stockbridge, in the year 1730. Housatonic River Indians, Mohegans, Manhattas, were all names of bands in different localities, but bound together, as one family, by blood, marriage and descent.

* * * * * *

"Where are the twenty-five thousand in number, and the four thousand warriors, who constituted the power and population of the great Muh-he-con-new Nation in 1604? They have been victims to vice and disease, which the white man imported. The small-pox, measles, and "strong waters" have done the work of annihilation.

* * * * * *

"What are the treaties of the general government? How often, and when, has its plighted faith been kept? Indian occupation forever, is, next year, or by the next Commissioner, more wise than his predecessor, re-purchased. One removal follows another, and thus your sympathies and justices are evinced in speedily *fulfilling the terrible destinies of our race.*

"My friends, your holy book, the Bible, teaches us that individual offences are punished in an existence, when time shall be no more. And the annals of the earth are equally instructive, that national wrongs are avenged, and national crimes atoned for in this world, to which alone the conformations of existence adapt them.

"These events are above our comprehension, and for wise purposes. For myself and for my tribe, I ask for justice—I believe it will sooner or later occur—and may the Great and Good Spirit enable me to die in hope.

WANNUAUCON, *the Muh-he-con-new.*"

Mr. Quinney seems to have selected such of the tribal traditions as he himself believed. My ignorance of his subject forbids

me to do more than to raise the question whether or not his concept of the ancient religious observances of his people was affected by his own Christian training and belief. This plea for his people was perhaps his last public effort. He died 1855, July 21st.

From legend we pass to history. Here there is abundant material. The story of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok is one that in former years has given hope to the philanthropist and joy to the Christian. Parts of it have often been told. If the narrative of this later time and the account of the present condition of the tribe are of a kind that can not please, we are to remember the surroundings in which we have placed these people, and the neglect with which we have treated them.

On the evening of the first of June of this year I came to the present Stockbridge reservation. The road led from the hamlet of Gresham, a Bavarian settlement, a place prettily situated, but foul with beer. Thither through rain I had come by a drive of fourteen miles from Shawano, the nearest railway station. Beds of corduroy crossing wide marshes made the road thence passable and the journey unpleasant. The mail-carrier with whom I had come spoke poor German and much worse English. My only fellow-passenger was the son of a Norwegian mother, but on his father's side one of the the tribe I had come to visit. Like most other young men of this people he is a logger. His education had been neglected. In his boyhood he was turned from school by Mr. Slingerland, † he said, and this because his parents were of the "citizens' party." How full of hate was the struggle between this party and its opponents this incident,—which seemed to me to be truthfully told,—helps to reveal.

I was glad to turn from Gresham, a place of temptation to the Indians, and through the still falling rain to walk into the Indian country. The swollen Red River, then dashing over its granite bed, runs there almost on the line of the reservation. It and the larger Wolf to which it is tributary, have floated off to the great saw mills of Oshkosh and elsewhere, the best of the logs that once stood on the Indians' land. Some great trees, however, are left, and most of the reservation is covered with second-growth forest. Indeed, the area surrendered to bush and tree seems to be encroaching

† NOTE.—A teacher and pastor of whom we shall hear later.

upon that given to the plow. Scattered houses of logs upon "clearings" or small farms are the homes of the people. I doubt that they live in as much of comfort as their fathers did on the east side of Lake Winnebago, when fifty years ago their pastor, Rev. Cutting Marsh, would have had his people remain where they were and advised them to become citizens.

Now the old question is up again. It seems that the land of the reservation is likely to be allotted in severalty. The prospect of getting a share was, about the time of my visit, bringing thither all who had any claims whatever to tribal relationship and some who perhaps had none at all. Already there were new-comers on the reservation who had no more intention of making homes there than I had. They had come because there was a chance of their getting a piece of land which, if secured, would be sold as soon as possible.

A tedious drive by another road, somewhat shorter, but rather worse, brought me again to Shawano. The Presbyterian pastor there, Rev. Jacob Van Rensslaer Hughes, is by virtue of his faithfulness bishop also of the church at Stockbridge. For the old name has been given to a second Wisconsin village,—if village that can be called which consists of little more than a blacksmith shop, a manse and a church. The last is used also as a school. It is in poor condition and ought to be replaced.

The story of later pastorates will be found in due order. At present Mr. Hughes serves these people as he can, and sees to it that a good teacher is found for the school which the United States government maintains among them.

There is no post-office on the Stockbridge reservation. There is one, Keshena, on that belonging to the Menomonees. There and at Gresham the Stockbridges get their mail.

Years ago Horace Bushnell, preaching before the American Home Missionary society, said, "Emigration tends to barbarism." He might have added, "Isolation tends to barbarism." What can be expected of a people thrust a generation ago into a wilderness so dense that civilization has scarcely reached it even yet? On one side their nearest neighbors are peasants, European in habits and dialect, on another, the Menomonee Indians, rather less advanced in civilization than themselves and divided religiously into pagans

and members of the church of Rome. The logging camps, where most of the young Indians of both tribes spend the long winters and the delayed springs of northern Wisconsin, are poor schools for the development of right character, or even for training in habits of steady industry.

Some families have left the reservation and made homes at Shawano. Into some of these I was received, and I found therein cleanliness and comfort. In character and intelligence these people will compare favorably with their neighbors of the more favored race. Nor should it be forgotten that on the reservation also there are those who are true to the better traditions of a people who number John Sergeant and Jonathan Edwards among their spiritual fathers.

With a story to tell that embraces part of the biography of men like these whom I have just named, that covers the history of a tribe unique in its good will and practical services to our colonial forefathers and to us their descendants (according to the flesh, to the spirit, or to both): a story that brings us again into the light of early days in Wisconsin,—with such a subject as this if I do not interest those who care for these things, it must be because my work has been ill done. If so, the reason may be that the labor has been one of intervals, and has always been subordinated to the duties of busy pastorates.

Out of the material gathered when there was opportunity for such work, two papers have been prepared and published: "Missions on the Chequamegon Bay," in volume XII. of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, and "Negro Slavery in Wisconsin." The substance of the former was presented as an address at the Northwest Educational Conference held at La Pointe on Madeline Island, 1892, July 12th and 13th, under the auspices of the Lake Superior Congregational Club. The latter was an address before the State Historical Society at its annual meeting, December 8th of the same year. Various articles also have appeared in "Our Church Work," "The Southern Congregationalist," "The Milwaukee Sentinel," "The Northwestern Congregationalist" and other papers.

If in the forms of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ew dialect John Sergeant and the younger Edwards made errors, these it is probable can not be corrected by any one now living. Some of the older members

of the tribe understand the vernacular of their fathers and can speak it. But their knowledge thereof is neither authoritative nor scientific. Information given me by one of these, Tau-tau-yah-com-mo-wah, (Talker to the point; or, Speaker to the point), I have incorporated into the first note in the chapter on the "Church in the Wilderness." †

It can not be said that there is a fixed standard for the spelling of Indian words. These appear accordingly on the following pages as they are used by writers whom I have laid under contribution to the making of this narrative.

The tribal Constitution, Thomas Coram's inscription in the Ayscouth Bible, some added notes and errata, will be found in the appendix.

It would be ungrateful not to speak of the favors shown me in the library of the State Historical Society ‡ by Secretary Reuben Gold Thwaites, the late librarian Daniel Steele Durrie, his successor Isaac S. Bradley, and their assistants. Nor do I forget the help I have found in the library of Beloit college, my own *alma mater*, and the encouragement that my former instructors have given me. For help in proof reading and the slavish work of making an index, meant to be reasonably full, I owe thanks to my sister, Orpha E. Leavitt, A. B., instructor, formerly in Downer college, Fox Lake, and now in Doane college, Crete, Nebraska.

As already stated, this little monograph was originally designed to be but part of a history of the churches that are or have been in connection with the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin, and of that body itself. "Professor Blaisdell," say the minutes of the convention for 1891, § "called attention to an extended history of our churches being prepared by Rev. J. N. Davidson, of Stoughton. It was voted that a committee of five be appointed to review the work, take charge of

† NOTE.—These translations are his own. He is commonly known as Dennis Turkey. He recognizes his Indian name by writing between his interesting English appellatives an initial T.

‡ NOTE.—I do not doubt that there are many well-informed citizens of Wisconsin who do not know that this library is believed, with reason, to rank third in the United States in fullness of collections pertaining to American history.

§ NOTE.—Fond du Lac, September 30th.

its publication and bring it to the attention of the churches; the committee to consist of Prof. J. J. Blaisdell, Rev. J. Porter, Rev. C. W. Camp, Rev. Luther Clapp and Rev. S. P. Wilder."

All of these gentlemen have shown much more than a mere kindly interest. I am sure that I shall not seem to make an invidious distinction when I say that the eldest member of the committee, Jeremiah Porter, D. D., and the brother next to him in years, Rev. Luther Clapp, have placed me under peculiar obligations. Even as these pages were passing through the press our beloved Father Porter was not, for God took him.

Associated with his name is that of his Andover classmate, Rev. Cutting Marsh. His, in greater part than these pages can show, was the good work done among the Stockbridges in Wisconsin. That he was not longer upheld in his labor among them seems to have been partly their own fault and partly a mistake of the American Board in giving up the ancient mission among his misguided people.

—Whom may a covenant-keeping God save and bless!

Two Rivers, Wisconsin,
1893, September 5th.

THE ASSEMBLY'S

SHORTER CATECHISM.

1. *Qchemoentuwaunkuk.* Kauqui nhaun unnowwaunmawu nooh autonnawuseet?

Aukhchewch. Nook autonnawuseet nhaun unnowwaunmaunuk, aunch aum maumoothpehhaut Pohtommauwausun, don wauwumwekihnaut honmewch.

2. Q. Kauqui Pohtommawwaus kneenkonuh kavkuhkhummauquuq wauch aum wauwehtiyuq aunhqueh aum mau moothpehhauyuq, don wauwuwwekihnauyuq?

A. Nik wtauptoonnauwauhun Pohtommowwaus autennaukhautheek, neh mkhowoi wonk wskoi nauktuhhausetup wsohekun, neh nun nquehcheh kaukuhkhummauquq aunqueh aum maumoothpehhauyuq, don wauwauwekehnauyuq.

3. Q. Kauquikuh neh wsoowhekun nhaun unneh kkuhkotom?

A. Nik wsoowhekun nhaun unneh kkuhkotom taun aum aunhqueh wnthtummuk nuh wcheh Pohtommauwaus, don aunch dootnauquq.

4. Q. Tauneek wtennoiyen nuh Pohtommawwaus?

A. Nuk Pohtommuwwaus pauqueweh wchechukkoow nnnowoiyo; stuh eyuhquauyoweh, don stuh pepeenwehpauweh neh aunawuseet, wsaukhkunnuhkauwaukun, oneiwaukun, don onaumauwaukun.

5. Q. Kaukhoowwuk aut Pohtommuwwausuk?

A. Pauskowoow kuh psooq, nuh mauyauweh paupmawutheet Pohtommowwaus.

6. Q. Taun wtenkeemquiththeem nuh kohcheh Pohtommowwauseet?

A. Nkhaunnoikeek unnuqqueh, chseh nuh wautoghhemuk, wtionon, don neen kausekhoikeh wchehchuhqun; noke nkhewch aunow pauskoo Pohtommuwwaus, pausquu aunquchq kkiychteet, wonk neh weekchaunauqsowaukunnowuh.

"O that mine enemy had written a book," exclaimed the much-suffering Job. "A fearful curse," says Shelly, with whom every one will agree who has faithfully tried to avoid errors in writing of even a very small subject and to collect all available material relating to it.

This page and the following are in the nature of a postscript, are unindexed and follow the introduction merely for convenience in paging. Opportunity is taken of the necessity of binding additional copies to insert the foregoing *fac simile* of a page of what is very likely the last book issued in the Muh-he-ka-ne-ew dialect. I will not so far impugn the intelligence and orthodoxy of my readers as to assume that they do not have at hand or, better still, in memory, the corresponding English.

In the exhaustive "Bibliography of the Algonquian Languages," by James Constantine Pilling of the Bureau of Ethnology, we have the foregoing *fac simile* and three others in the same dialect. One of these is of a specimen page of another edition of the same catechism. With this is given an English title page showing that it was published at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1795. This Mr. Pilling calls [John] "Quinney's Catechism." The page printed herewith is one of what Mr. Pilling calls "Quinney and Aupaumut's Catechism." This Aupaumut is no other than our warrior friend Captain Hendrick. Mr. Pilling gives interrogatively Stockbridge as the place and 1818 as the time of publication.

The other two *fac similes* are, one each of (the elder) Sergeant's "Morning Prayer" and "Prayer Before Sermon." The latter beginneth thus: "Oe Taupaunnumeauk pohtummauwaus, maukhkenun, quauwauntum, wonk knoi Keyuh keshehtouwaunoop wauweh ohquauekeh, wonk kaukhhunnouwauntummun mauweh ohquoiekeh."

Mr. Sergeant was first able to pray with the Indians in their own tongue "by the middle of February, 1736."

Certain other memoranda and corrections may be thus pressed together: Rev. Benjamin Colman of the historic Brattle street church, Boston, and Samuel Holden, the London philanthropist,

were among Mr. Sergeant's best helpers. The elder Hopkins tells of the resolution of certain of Mr. Sergeant's catechumens who refused to taste strong drink. Was not this the first total abstinence movement in America? Mr. Hopkins mentions this among the events of 1735. July 5th of that year Sergeant came to his people to make thereafter his home among them. January 11th, 1738, he writes: "I began to keep the 12 Indian boys on Mr. Hollis's Foundation." In May and June, 1741, he "undertook a missionary journey to the Shawanoes on Susquehanna river, and also to the Delawares on Delaware river, in the province of Pennsylvania, the villages of the former being about two hundred twenty miles distant from Stockbridge." Hopkins the younger, Mrs. Stowe's hero, becomes really interesting as he narrates the dangers of war on the frontier while he was at Great Barrington and Edwards was at Stockbridge. It was Jonathan Edwards the younger, not the father, who wrote the treatise on the Muh-he-ka-ne-ew dialect (page 13). Captain Coram was in England, not as agent of the Stockbridge school but, residing there, served it as he could. John Sergeant the younger was one of the council that helped organize the (Congregational for seventy years, now) Presbyterian church of Clinton, New York, the spiritual home, in successive years, of so many hundreds of the students of Hamilton college. A part of his diary has been put for a time into my hands by his granddaughter, Mrs. Mary E. Niles, of Trumansburg, New York. The dates of this portion are from 1793, November 22d, when he set out (whence he does not say) to visit his people at New Stockbridge, to February 5th, 1794. Why he uses the word "visit" is not evident, for his narrative is one of continuous pastoral service, not only to Muh-he-ka-ne-ok but also to "Oniedas and Tuskaroras" (his own spelling), to whom he preached by an interpreter. He writes of strangers who had recently come to the village "from the westward." But he does not say that they were Munsees. I may further anticipate a part of our narrative by saying that the place to which some of the Stockbridges removed in 1839 or thereabout is on the Little Osage river, in what in now Kansas. Of the few who went (Iroquois from New York and Stockbridges from Wisconsin), there were left in 1847 only thirty-two.

Easter Monday (26 March), 1894.

CHAPTER I.

THE CHURCH IN THE WILDERNESS.

Through the Stockbridge Indian church our Wisconsin ecclesiastical history is directly connected with that of Massachusetts. The Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, or Housatonics (often called the River Indians), † and perhaps other closely allied tribes or sub-tribes were living, 1722, in the valley of the Housatonic river, western Massachusetts. On the 30th of June (11th of July, new style) of that year, the General Court (legislature) of the colony granted to some whites two townships of land in that vicinity. This gift was made subject to the rights of the Indians. A chief named Konkapot (Conkepot) and twenty others of his tribe signed the deed, 1724, April 25th (May 6th). The consideration was "£460, three barrels of sider, thirty quarts of rum." The Indians kept two small reservations, Skatekook, now in Sheffield, and Wnahktukook, ten miles north. Konkapot, the principal person at Wnahktukook, was soon discovered to be a worthy, industrious man and favorably inclined toward Christianity. Through Rev. Samuel Hopkins of West Springfield, whose nephew Mrs. Stowe has made famous in "The Minister's Wooing," the Board of Commissioners for Indian Af-

† NOTE.—According to President Edwards the younger (of Union college), the name of these people is Muh-he-ka-ne-ew, with a plural form Muh-he-ka-ne-ok. The elder President Dwight of Yale gives the forms Muh-he-ka-ne-uw, singular, and Muh-he-a-kun-nuk, plural. Edwards ought to be good authority, for his boyhood from his seventh year until he was nearly thirteen was spent among them. He tells us that he was more familiar at one time with the Indian language than with the English. He thought and dreamed in Indian. This is more easily understood when we remember that owing to a difficulty with his eyes he did not learn to read until comparatively late. The forms ending in *k* are probably all plurals, with the very doubtful exception of Muh-he-con-nuk, which strictly denotes the place of residence. It would be tedious to give all the varieties of spelling. In the published volumes of the Wisconsin Historical Collections we have the redundant plurals, Mo-he-kun-nucks, Mohickanucks, Moheakunnuks.

One of the few members of the tribe who still retain a knowledge of the language calls his people the Muh-e-con-news. Making allowance for the evidently English form of the plural and for the blending into one of the last two syllables of the name as given by President Edwards, we find that these forms are substantially the same. The *ew* in both is an attempt to represent the long sound of *u* as heard in the first syllable of *beauty*. For slight modifications of

fairs, of whom Governor Jonathan Belcher was one, and who were agents in Boston of what Jonathan Edwards calls "the honorable society in Scotland for the Propagation of Christian Knowledge," heard of the willingness of the "River Indians," as they were then commonly called, to receive Christian instruction. A favorable opportunity to meet them soon arose. The tribe had aided the colonists in their struggle with the French. In recognition of services rendered, Konkapot and another chief named Umpachene were summoned by the governor to come to Springfield in May, 1734, to receive, the former the title of captain and the latter that of lieutenant in the British army. To persuade these chiefs to permit the establishment of a mission among their people, the Commissioners had appointed deputies: Mr. Hopkins, the projector and afterward historian of the mission, and Stephen Williams, D. D., of Longmeadow, of whose distant kinsman, Eleazar Williams, we often hear in the early history of Green Bay in our own state. In so important a matter the newly made captain and lieutenant wished to have the approval of their people. Accordingly a tribal meeting was held 1734, July 8th (19th), in what is now the town of Great Barrington, Berkshire county, Massachusetts. A four days' consultation and discussion took place. Dutch traders from New York who had been accustomed to furnish the Indians with liquor

these spellings and for the name which the tribe chose for the reservation, or district, which it now occupies, see the tribal constitution as printed in the appendix.

Translations also vary. David Dudley Field, for many years pastor at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, gives: "The people of the great waters continually in motion." Miss Electa Jones, historian of the town, prefers the rendering, "The people of the continually flowing waters." The reference is probably to tidal movement.

The language, a dialect of the Algonkin tongue, is called Mohegan by President Edwards the elder. Of this word another spelling is Mohican. It is probably a shortened and corrupted form of the tribal name.

There was a legend among "the people of the waters that are never still" that their ancestors came from a country very far to the northwest of their Massachusetts home, "having crossed the great water at the place where this and the other country are nearly connected." They came to a great river, and noticing the ebb and flow of its waters, said: "This is Muh-he-con-nuk," and there they made their home. This river, beside which the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok lived until after the coming of the white men, to this country, was known to the Delaware Indians as the Mahecanittuck (or Mohicannettuck), though its Mohegan name is Chalemuc and the Iroquois called it Cohahatatea. It is our Hudson, called by the member of the tribe of whom I have spoken above, Muh-e-con-took. It is from this stream that the Stockbridges got their name the "River Indians."

naturally opposed the movement. But under the leadership of Konapot, who must have been a man of great ability as well as of signal worth, the tribe became unanimous in giving a welcome to the proposed mission.

Meanwhile the heart of John Sergeant, tutor in Yale college, had been moved to undertake just such work. "I should be ashamed to call myself a Christian or even a man," said he, "and yet refuse to do what lay in my power, to cultivate humanity among a people naturally ingenious enough, but who, for want of instruction, live so much below the dignity of human nature, and to promote the salvation of souls perishing in the dark when yet the light of life is so near them." In October, 1734, Mr. Sergeant came to visit the people among whom he purposed to dwell. He was accompanied by one of the nearest resident pastors, Rev. Nehemiah Bull of Westfield, who, in place of Mr. Hopkins kept away by illness, had attended with Mr. Williams the conference of the preceding July. Mr. Sergeant and his friend spent one night in the woods without fire or shelter. On Sunday the 13th (24th) of October, the day after their arrival, they gathered a congregation in which were twenty adults. All gave good heed to what was said but it was noticed that Konkapot and family were among the most attentive listeners. Then or soon thereafter, the interpreter, Ebeneezer Poohpoonuc desired to be baptized. Having obtained from him among other declarations the statement that he would rather burn in the fire than deny the truth, Mr. Bull baptized him, Thursday the 18th (29th) of October, 1734, as the first fruits of the mission. The meeting was held at the dwelling of Lieutenant Umpachene, a wigwam which is said to have been fifty or sixty feet long. Perhaps candidates for church-membership are not examined any more carefully now than was faithful Ebeneezer Poohpoonuc (or Poo-poo-nah) more than a century and half ago.

The mission was first established in what is now the town of Great Barrington. Here on the 21st October (1st November), was begun the erection of a building which was to serve for church and school. So rapidly was the work pushed forward that the school itself was opened Tuesday, 5th (16th) of November. Mr. Sergeant himself was the teacher. Think of the Yale tutor teaching Indian children the very rudiments of book knowledge! But his missionary duties involved a visit to Albany to inquire about the Mohawks.

He left on the 25th of November and returned on the 30th (6th and 11th of December respectively). During his absence Mr. Hopkins procured for him a helper, Mr. Timothy Woodbridge, to whom was committed the care of the mission on Mr. Sergeant's departure for New Haven which took place Monday, 9th (20th) of December, 1734. He had the last of a three years' tutorship at Yale to finish. Almost his last act before leaving was to counteract the evil influence of some liquor-sellers. In this he was so successful as to be able to take with him to New Haven a son of Konkapot and also one of Umpachene. This was done that these boys might learn English and himself learn their vernacular. In the following May Mr. Sergeant visited his people. What occurred later is well told in a letter by an unknown writer. It was dated at "Indian Town, November 3rd, 1735." In it we have an instance of the old-time connection between church and state. We notice also that the church of Stockbridge (which continues to this day) had its beginning in nothing more formal than the baptism of one converted Indian. Some of our ministers who are so fond of "organizing" churches without reference to what has been done by their predecessors on the same field may well make a note of this. It will be remembered that new-style dates may be found by adding to those given eleven days. "Mahaiwe" should be "Nehhaiwe,"—"place down stream."

"*My well beloved Christian Friend:*—I have just returned from Mahaiwe where I spent the Sabbath with our most worthy missionary, Rev. John Sergeant. It is only two weeks since the return of Mr. Sergeant from New Jersey, whither he went after his ordination at Deerfield. He was ordained on the 31st of August last. The same took place in the presence of Governor Belcher, and a large committee of the Council and House of Representatives.

"The Governor and his associates had spent the week previous in arranging a treaty with the Indians, and exchanging pledges. On Sunday, August 31st, the Rev. Mr. Williams of Hatfield, addressed Governor Belcher in the church, and 'humbly asked if it were his excellency's pleasure that the pastors then convened should set apart Rev. John Sergeant for the work of the salvation of the heathen.' The Governor responded affirmatively.

"Mr. Williams then asked Mr. Sergeant if he would take upon himself that work. Mr. Sergeant gave his assent. The Indians, of whom a large delegation was present, were then asked, through an interpreter, if they would receive Mr. Sergeant as their teacher. They manifested their approval by rising in a body. The services of ordination were then performed.

* * * * * * * * * * *

"The church consisted of but one member, Ebenezer Poopoonah, who is the interpreter. Yesterday Captain Konkapot was added together with his wife and daughter. They were baptized. Captain K. received the name of John, his wife the name of Mary, and his daughter the name of Catherine. There was a large attendance of Indians and whites, the latter being principally Dutchmen, who have settled on the valley of the river. Lieutenant Umpachene and wife are to be baptized next Sunday, and then Captain Konkapot will be married according to the rites of the Christian religion. He has lived with his squaw many years and has a large family, but he nevertheless now wishes to be married. If the missionary can keep the Indians away from the Dutch settlers, who furnish them with fire-water, he may succeed, but unless he can I fear the Indians will need many ceremonies before they will abide. I translate the vow which Captain, now John, Konkapot took in presence of the large masses of Indians gathered.

" 'Through the goodness of God toward me in bringing me into the way of the knowledge of the gospel, I am convinced of the truth of the Christian religion, and that it is the only way that leads to salvation and happiness. I therefore freely and heartily forsake heathenish darkness, and embrace the light of the gospel and the way of holiness, and do, in the presence of Almighty God, the searcher of hearts, and before many witnesses, sincerely and solemnly take the Lord Jehovah to be my God and portion; Jesus Christ His Son, to be my Lord and Redeemer, and the Holy Ghost to be my sanctifier and teacher. And I do covenant and promise by the help of divine grace, that I will cleave to the Lord, with purpose of heart, believing his revealed truths as far as I can gain a knowledge of them, obeying his commands, both those that mark out my duty and those that forbid sin, sincerely and uprightly to the end of my life.'

"Konkapot is a man of fine presence, and the solemn manner in which, with deep guttural tones, he pronounced the above, visibly affected the whole audience.

Thine sincerely,"

***

Soon Mr. Sergeant had baptized fifty and the work and influence of the mission were otherwise manifest. About December, 1733, the Indians passed a resolution to have "no trading in rum." In this matter who of their time did better than these poor men scarcely yet come into the light of Christian truth?

A town six miles square was laid out in 1736 as a home for the Indians. It was incorporated in 1739 and named probably after Stockbridge in England which it is said to resemble. In later years this town has produced many well known men, among them Cyrus W. Field, of ocean-cable fame, and his illustrious brothers, one of whom is an associate justice of the supreme court of the United States. The Indians, who had previously been dispersed in three different localities, settled here in May, 1736. † By Mr. Sergeant's labors so great a change was wrought that the Indians themselves expressed it by such metaphors as infancy and manhood, dreaming and waking, darkness and light. The colonial government built them a church and a school-house. The former was dedicated Thanksgiving, 29th November, 1739.

Mr. Sergeant who, the Indians said, came to know their language better than they did themselves, translated for their use nearly all the New Testament and a great part of the Old, besides prayers, a catechism and a marriage service. He usually preached every week two sermons in the language of the Indians and two in English, ‡ besides holding what would now be called a Sunday-

† NOTE.—Rev. John W. Harding of Longmeadow, Massachusetts, recalls "the missionary efforts of the Moravians under the lead of Nicolaus Ladwig, Count von Zinzendorf, to Christianize the Mohigans at Shekomeko, New York, and Patchgatcock, Connecticut, near the present town of Kent." These Mohicans, says James Wood in Scharf's History of Westchester county, New York, "removed to Stockbridge, which became the headquarters of the tribe." This statement is true probably of few rather than of many. "Some of them," says Mr. Harding, "went to Pennsylvania." The Moravian missions, however, were begun later than Mr. Sergeant's for Zinzendorf did not come to America until 1740.

‡ NOTE.—The English service was not simply to accustom the natives to *the use of that language, but* also to provide for the spiritual wants of four

school. He desired to take Indian children from their surroundings and find homes for them in civilized parts of the country and in families where they could be properly trained. This, through the generosity of Rev. Isaac Hollis, a wealthy Baptist minister of London, † he was able to do in the case first of twelve, then of twenty-four, and lastly of thirty-six boys. But this was not enough. He established a school which for that time and among that people did in a measure the work that Carlisle and Hampton are now doing for our Indians. To this were removed the boys whom Mr. Hollis was supporting, and thus the school was maintained in large part by his gifts. But many others contributed to it, among them the Prince of Wales ‡ (father of George III.) and his brother, the Duke of Cumberland, victor at Colloden. Dr. Watts, the famous hymn-writer, took up a collection among a few friends and sent £70 or more.

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or more colonial families who, by invitation, settled at Stockbridge to be, in a sense, models to their Indian neighbors. Among these settlers was Colonel Ephraim Williams whose son of the same name made by will a gift for the establishment of a free school, now Williams College.

† NOTE.—Nephew of Thomas Hollis, the benefactor of Harvard.

‡ NOTE.—This was the Prince Frederick for whom, Thackery tells us, the following epitaph was proposed:

Here lies Fred,
Who was alive, and is dead.
Had it been his father,
I had much rather.
Had it been his brother,
Still better than another.
Had it been his sister,
No one would have missed her.
Had it been the whole generation,
Still better for the nation.
But since 'tis only Fred,
Who was alive, and is dead,
There's no more to be said.

His "clerk of the closet" (chaplain) gave a two-volume Oxford Bible which Rev. Calvin Colton thought worthy of special description in his "Tour of the American Lakes," published in London, 1833. This old Bible is still preserved with religious veneration. Upon each volume is the inscription:

THE . GIFT . OF .
THE . REV . DR . FRANCIS . AYSCOUTH .
. TO . THE .
INDIAN . CONGREGATION . AT . HOUSATONIC .
IN . NEW . ENGLAND .
MDCCXLV.

We go back in order of time to notice that in 1739, the year of the dedication of the church, the Indians, at the suggestion of the missionaries, laid a penalty of £40 York money (perhaps $100 or $120) upon any person who should bring rum into Stockbridge for sale. Inn-keepers were the liquor-sellers of that day, and those in the vicinity were remonstrated with upon the sin of selling spirits to Indians, inclined to excessive drinking. But these efforts the evil-disposed endeavored to turn to the harm of the poor Indians by telling them that the missionaries infringed upon their liberties, that they were used worse than dogs and slaves and would soon be reduced openly to bondage. From this it would seem that the "personal liberty" argument in the temperance discussion is not altogether new.

To Stockbridge came, 31st of March (11th of April), 1743, David Brainerd, one of the uncanonized saints of our American churches. He was on his way to establish a mission at Kaunaumeek, now Lebanon, New York. His new home was twenty miles from Stockbridge, on the road to Albany. Many a time during the following winter did Mr. Brainerd traverse the weary miles that lay between him and his friend, for we find this recorded in his diary under date of November 29th (10th December): "Began to study the Indian tongue with Mr. Sergeant at Stockbridge." He had already established a school in which he placed as teacher his interpreter, John Wauwaumpequunnaut, who was among those educated by Mr. Hollis's generosity. So that for the training of his associate and for his own knowledge of the language Mr. Brainerd was indebted to the Stockbridge pastor. In the spring or summer of 1744, by Mr. Brainerd's advice, the Indians of his charge, being few in number, removed to Stockbridge to live under Mr. Sergeant's ministry.

In Brainerd's diary for that year we have this record of his last public service at Kaunaumeek: "Lord's day, March 11 (22). My soul was in some measure strengthened in God in morning devotion; so that I was released from trembling fear and distress. Preached to my people from the parable of the sower, Matt. 13, and enjoyed some assistance both parts of the day; had some freedom, affection, and fervency in addressing my poor people; longed that God should take hold of their hearts, and make them spiritually

alive. And indeed I had so much to say to them, that I knew not how to leave off speaking."

Mr. Brainerd's work at Kaunaumeek † thus characteristically ended, was, in a sense supplementary to that done by Mr. Sergeant, who had preached there before him. The missionary zeal of both now looked to more distant fields. Proposals were made to the Delawares ‡ for the establishment of a mission among them. They gave consent, and Brainerd turned from calls to pleasant pastorates among people of his own race to life in the wilderness that then covered the regions about the "Forks of the Delaware" and those on the upper Susquehanna. He labored also among scattered Indians that were then left in New Jersey. "Indeed, I had no idea of joy from this world," he wrote, "I cared not where or how I lived or what hardships I might have to endure, if I might only gain souls to Christ." What wonder that with such a spirit he won many to his Master's service? But his mortal life, with all its courage, zeal and devotion, was soon to end. He returned to his native New England, and there, 1747, October 9th (20th) in the home of Jonathan Edwards at Northampton, he passed away. §

Meanwhile Mr. Sergeant continued his abundant labors among the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok. The school for which the gifts already mentioned (and many others) were made ‖ could not be established

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† NOTE.—Sometimes the *u* is left out of one syllable and sometimes out of the other.

‡ NOTE.—The late E. W. B. Canning of Stockbridge, Massachusetts, says to the Shawnees also, and adds that these refused the offer.

§ NOTE.—Brainerd's mother was dead, and the last weeks of his lingering illness,—he died of consumption,—he was cared for by his affianced wife, a daughter of Mr. Edwards. "Dear Jerusha," he asked her a few days before his death, "are you quite willing to part with me?" She was a true Edwards and replied: "I am quite willing to part with you: I am willing to part with all my friends: I am willing to part with my dear brother John, although I love him the best of any creature living: I have committed him and all my friends to God, and can leave them with God." But, girl-like, she continued, "Though if I thought I should not see you and be happy with you in another world, I could not bear to part with you. But we shall spend a happy eternity together!" Dear saints and blessed lovers, they were not long separate. Miss Edwards died 1748, February 14th (25th). She had not completed her eighteenth year.

‖ NOTE.—Thus the Indians themselves gave a farm-site of two hundred acres.

until 1747. † This was for boys, to whom alone Mr. Hollis's favors were extended. But if it should prove successful, Mr. Sergeant had in mind an institution of like sort for girls. He purposed also to go to the Iroquois (Six Nations) in New York, and try to induce them to send young people to Stockbridge for training in civilization and Christianity. But the carrying out of these projects was prevented by his death which, to human sight, came all too soon. He was taken from his people 1749, July 27th (August 7th), in the thirty-ninth year of his age.

To appreciate even in part the work done by this extraordinary man, we must remember that "up to the second decade of the last century the western border of our state" [Massachusetts] "seems to have been as little known as are the regions about Hudson Bay at the present time. The boundary between Massachusetts and New York was still undetermined, and the country a wilderness except where a few Dutchmen had made clearings under the grant of the Livingstone manor lying beyond." ‡

We have good reason to believe that but for the unifying work of its mission the Stockbridge nation would long since have been extinct. We may then regard Mr. Sergeant as the preserver of the distinctive life of the people among whom he labored. At their removal from Great Barrington to Stockbridge they numbered, as nearly as can be ascertained, twenty families and about ninety individuals; in 1740 they had increased to one hundred twenty, and in the year of Mr. Sergeant's death, to two hundred eighteen, comprised in fifty-three families. § The improvement in their manner

† NOTE.—This, it will be remembered, was something entirely different from the mission day-school taught by Mr. Woodbridge. In the latter, all the children of the settlement, white and Indian, received instruction. The boarding or "charity" school was designed to train its pupils in useful occupations as well as in book knowledge. It was a continuation of the work supported by Mr. Hollis, begun in Mr. Sergeant's own home and continued in the home of a Captain Kellogg of Newington, Connecticut.

Those who are so ill-informed as to think that training for usefulness in the present life is commonly neglected in mission work may be surprised to learn that as far back as 1788 the missionary society made an appropriation of money to buy agricultural implements for the Indians at Stockbridge.

‡ NOTE.—E. W. B. Canning (lately deceased) of Stockbridge, Massachusetts.

§ NOTE.—E. W. B. Canning. The number of white families had also increased to twelve or thirteen.

of living was more noticeable than the increase in their number. He found them living in "miserable huts,"—"bark wigwams,"—"much dispersed and often moving from place to place." † When he died "twenty of the fifty-three families lived in frame houses, and more than that number cultivated, to a greater or less extent, productive farms."

Of the Indians living at Stockbridge when Mr. Sergeant died, forty-two were members of the church and one hundred twenty-nine had received baptism. In all Mr. Sergeant baptized one hundred eighty-two.

Apparently it was this faithful pastor who reduced to writing the language of the people whom he made his own. To learn it was a more arduous task, he thought, than to acquire all the learned languages usually taught in the schools. Of his abundant labors in translation we have already learned. ‡ We have seen that in Indian education he anticipated what seem to be the best methods of our own time. In temperance legislation he led whither many fear to follow even yet. And of this work a great part was done in the midst of the alarms of war. He was "a man of such singular worth and such various excellence that his equal is rarely met with in the church of Christ." §

† NOTE.—Historical Memoirs by Samuel Hopkins of Longmeadow.

‡ NOTE.—While at Kaunaumeek Mr. Brainerd translated several forms of prayer and some of the Psalms into the language of the natives. Apparently these Psalms were translated into metrical form, for he taught his people to sing them. The Muh-he-ka-ne-ok have always been fond of singing.

§ NOTE.—Samuel Hopkins of Longmeadow.

CHAPTER II.

LOSS OF THE NEW ENGLAND HOME.

After Mr. Sergeant's death the charge of the mission devolved for a time upon Mr. Woodbridge, but in July, 1751, Jonathan Edwards became pastor of the Stockbridge church.† Few New England churches would, at that time, have offered him their pulpit. ‡ During his pastorate the French and Indian war was at its hight. Friends thought that Mr. Edwards was in danger and advised him to seek a safer place than Stockbridge. But he declined to leave his flock. His people were steadfast friends of the colonists and the English. Almost every man among them, capable of bearing arms, went with Governor Shirley in 1755 on his expedition against Niagara. They rendered most efficient service. For the protection of the settlers of western Massachusetts, the little Indian settlement at Stockbridge was better than a fort.

† NOTE.—The place had been offered to his former pupil in theology, the younger Samuel Hopkins, of (what is now) Great Barrington, a parish almost equally exposed to the dangers of war. The larger salary at Stockbridge (paid by the Scotch Society) was, perhaps, a reason why Hopkins declined the position and urged the choice of Mr. Edwards.

‡ NOTE.—It would require a special treatise to explain just why, and do justice to both parties. Edwards was a metaphysician much inclined to mistake the results of his own subtile and abstract reasonings for theology. In personal piety he was a mystic. Both these facts seem to have led him to insist upon evidence of consciousness of the change by which one becomes a Christian. In this respect, and in others, his work was like that of Wesley and Whitefield. Yet we hasten to add,—for writing on these subjects is like walking on eggs without breaking them,—that none of these great revivalists meant to keep out of the church any one who was really a Christian, whether or not he could tell how he became one. Naturally, Edwards's views brought him into conflict with a large number of persons who stood related to the church by what was called the "half-way covenant." These, though not communicants, were of Christian belief, correct life, had themselves been baptized in infancy, and desired that ordinance for their children. However, Edwards's difficulties at Northampton, whence he was dismissed, were in large part of a practical sort, and belong, properly, to the history of the parish and to his own biography.

Not only were there "fightings without" while Mr. Edwards was at Stockbridge; there was something worse than "fears within." There was an "Indian ring" there. Of this Ephraim Williams (senior) was head and purse. To understand the mischief done we must return to the history of Mr. Sergeant's "charity" school. It flourished, notwithstanding the death of its founder. It was the means of bringing to Stockbridge Oneidas, Mohawks, and a few Tuscaroras, to educate their children. But Williams quarreled with their teacher, Mr. Hawley, (also with Mr. Woodbridge) and usurped the management of the school. In disgust the Oneidas withdrew their children and returned to New York. Meanwhile rumors reached the commissioners of the mischief that was doing, and Mr. Edwards was summoned to meet them at Boston. This man "whose mind was so abstracted from temporalities as to be unable to tell the number of his cows," nevertheless was successful in vanquishing the Williams "ring," and soon thereafter the chief evil-doer removed from Stockbridge. † But the "mischief done was irreparable. The Oneida pupils had gone and refused to return; the Mohawks lingered a little longer and then left also. Mr. Hawley followed them and renewed his labors on the New York reservation until the outbreak of the Revolutionary war." ‡ Thus the school, which in 1750 enrolled sixty pupils, § seems to have been broken up. At least we hear again of boys who had been sent from home to be taught. ‖

The Indian parishioners of Mr. Edwards became greatly attached to him and his family and he to them. But though he made their language the subject of a treatise, he never learned to preach in it. Those who have heard in a polyglot assembly an address delivered in one language and translated into another, will know how greatly the effectiveness of his work must have been les-

† NOTE.—"He died under a dense cloud," wrote Professor Arthur Latham Perry of Williams college, under date of 10th July, 1893.

‡ NOTE.—E. W. B. Canning.

§ NOTE.—Including, probably, the thirty-six supported by Mr. Hollis. The expression on page seven is at fault in its implication that this maximum number was reached during Mr. Sergeant's life. Apparently only twelve were then thus maintained.

‖ NOTE.—Under date of 1756, May 31st, (old style), the famous theologian of Bethlem, Connecticut, Joseph Bellamy, reports to Mr. Edwards concerning some Indian boys in his own family.

sened. But, true to his great character, he was faithful to his humble charge, and would not leave it, even at the invitation to become president of the college of New Jersey (Princeton) until advised by what was practically a council of ministers that it was his duty to do so. † Seldom did he shed tears in the presence of others. But when this decision of his friends was made known to him he wept. Scarcely had he assumed the duties of his new office when he died, 22nd of March, 1758.

No doubt Edwards found the retirement of Stockbridge favorable for his theological and metaphysical studies. There he produced four of his treatises, one of which is his best known work, "The Freedom of the Human Will." ‡

Stephen West, afterwards doctor of divinity,—the title meant something then,—succeeded President Edwards. He was "introduced to the town" November, 1758, and ordained on the 13th of June, 1759. Not many years afterward the story of the camel that got his nose into the tent found in the case of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok another application. The white population of Stockbridge be-

† NOTE.—Edwards's letter to the trustees of the college is a curious bit of reading and gives the impression that the writer of it was sadly deficient in a sense of the humorous. He seems to have lacked also, what very few men do lack, a sufficiently high estimate of himself. Thus he says: "My defects unfit me for such an undertaking, many of which are generally known, besides others of which my heart is conscious. I have a constitution, in many respects, peculiarly unhappy, attended with flaccid solids, scarce fluids, and a low tide of spirits, often occasioning a kind of childish weakness and contemptibleness of speech, presence and demeanour, with a disagreeable dulness and stiffness, much unfitting me for conversation, but more especially for the government of a college."

‡ NOTE.—

In the church of the wilderness Edwards wrought,
Shaping his creed at the forge of thought:
And with Thor's own hammer welded and bent
The iron links of his argument,
Which strove to grasp in its mighty span
The purpose of God and the fate of man!
Yet faithful still, in his daily round
To the weak, and the poor, and the sin-sick found,
The schoolman's lore and the casuist's art
Drew warmth and life from his fervent heart.
Had he not seen in the solitudes
Of his deep and dark Northampton woods
A vision of love about him fall?

—*Whittier, in "The Preacher."*

came more numerous than the Indian. † In 1775 Dr. West intrusted the care of the Indian portion of his flock to Mr. John Sergeant, son of the original founder of the settlement.

This was the time of the American Revolution. The Stockbridges took sides with our ancestors. On the 30th of June of this same year (1775) letters and speeches from the Stockbridge Indians were laid before Congress and read. The committee on Indian affairs was directed to prepare "proper talks" to the different tribes of Indians. It was also resolved "that the securing and preserving the friendship of the Indian nations appears to be a subject of the utmost moment to the colonies." In the memorable year 1776, August 7th, Washington wrote to Timothy Edwards, then commissioner for Indian affairs, on the subject of employing the Stockbridges in the service of the United States. Some of them "fought through all the war, threaded the wilderness with Arnold to Canada, aided in compelling the surrender of Burgoyne and made the Jersey campaigns with Washington." "The Stockbridges," says the British Lieutenant-Colonel Simcoe, writing of an affair in which more than thirty of them lost their lives, "about sixty in number, excellent marksmen, had just joined Mr. Washington's army." They were under command of one of their number, Daniel (or Abraham) Ninham, who fell with his men. This skirmish or, rather, slaughter, took place 1778, August 31st, near White Plains, New York, where "Mr." Washington was then commanding.

Thus the Stockbridges did not content themselves with sending speeches to Congress nor with addressing the Massachusetts legislature as one of their chiefs did in 1779. A large proportion of their most promising young men were killed in battle. ‡ Per-

† NOTE.—Very possibly, also, the "Indian ring" already mentioned, had sought, even years before, to bring about the removal of the Indians from Stockbridge.

‡ NOTE.—Our Wisconsin state historical society possesses a collection called partly in irony and partly in hope an art gallery. In the catalogue thereof we find the following:

"98. Moshuebee.

"A very aged woman of the Stockbridge tribe who died about 1867, supposed to have been one hundred and twenty-five years of age. She is said to have had three sons engaged in the Revolutionary war, one of whom lost his

haps the tribe has never recovered from losses of men, homes and character then suffered. We should remember this if we are inclined to think of its present condition almost with contempt. Nor should we forget that too often then, as in later years, drunkenness was made easy for them. At the close of the war, apparently after the warriors had returned home, a barbecue was prepared for them by command of Washington. Whisky was furnished, we are sorry to add, even though their pastor presided at one of their tables. This suggestion of what camp and social life then was, prepares us for the sorrowful statement that many of those who survived the dangers of war fell victims to the habits of idleness and intemperance. In these ways many got into debt to their white neighbors and lost their lands. So the tribe sought a new home. They removed to a tract of land in New York, part of which is now in Madison county and part in Oneida. Hither they came at the invitation of the Oneidas whom, it is said, they had once saved from a powerful enemy. This place was secured to them, perhaps, when, 1774, October 24th, the Oneidas gave land † also to fragments of various tribes ‡ who, 1775, October 20th, organized a new "nation" called the Brothertowns. In this westward movement these preceded the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok who did not come until after the Revolution. Then the little band of ninety, with whom the elder Sergeant began his missionary labor, had increased to four hundred § or four hundred twenty. ‖ A very few remained at Stockbridge, no longer the home of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, though it had been theirs for almost half a century.

† NOTE.—Fourteen miles south of where the city of Utica, New York, now stands.

‡ NOTE.—Narragansetts, Pequots, Montauks, Mohegans and Nanticokes (Nahanticks). Thomas Commuck, one of the Brothertowns, adds to this list the Farmingtons, wherever they were. See Wisconsin Historical Collections, volume IV, page 292.

§ NOTE.—According to Mr. Canning.

‖ NOTE.—The number given by a local historian as of those who removed to New York. See, however, the statement on page 18 in regard to the population of New Stockbridge.

CHAPTER III.

NEW STOCKBRIDGE AND A SECOND REMOVAL.

Near the Brothertown settlement and about one hundred sixty miles from their former home, the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok built a village which they named New Stockbridge. † Thither the tribe removed in 1785-6, says Miss Jones. More likely the movement began in 1783 and continued until 1788. But it was in 1785, before their departure from the Massachusetts home, that sixteen Indian members of the old Stockbridge church formed a new one which removed first to New York and years later to Wisconsin. Mr. Sergeant hesitated to go with his people but went the next year. Then he found that Rev. Samson Occum ‡ had gained favor with many of the Stockbridges. Mr. Occum died 1792, July 14th, and the division which followed Mr. Sergeant's coming was healed. The "Honorable Society in Scotland"which had generously paid arrearages incurred during the war, again helped in the support of the pastor. Some aid from this source was continued until after the tribe removed to Wisconsin and the church was under the care of our own Rev. Cutting Marsh.

In 1792 the Stockbridges and their neighbors, the Six Nations, were invited to Philadelphia by President Washington "that meas-

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life in the service, and she was a camp-follower of the patriot army."

Unfortunately the catalogue does not tell who indulged the supposition concerning the woman's age, nor who made the statement about her sons. [Continued from page 15.]

† NOTE.—In the town where they made their settlement there was born, 1836, October 10th, to a Methodist clergyman, a son, William Dempster Hoard, lately governor of Wisconsin, and more honored in his defeat in 1890 than two years before in his election.

‡ NOTE.—This Indian minister Occum was a man of such power as a preacher that he was once sent to Great Britain to solicit funds for More's Charity School, an institution since developed into Dartmouth college. While in England he had the honor of preaching before King George III. More, perhaps, than to any other one man the credit of organizing the Brothertown "nation" is due to Occum.

ures might be concerted to impart such of the blessings of civilization as might suit their condition." The interview between their representatives and the President seems to have been mutually pleasant.

In 1796 they had a visit from Dr. Jedidiah Morse, † then one of the trustees of the still existing (Boston) society for Propagating the Gospel among the Indians. ‡ At that time the population of New Stockbridge was about three hundred, a number soon increased. None were professed pagans though only about thirty were members of the church. About two-thirds of the men and nine-tenths of the women were considered industrious. In this year a white man was convicted of bringing liquor into the "nation," an act contrary to tribal law. Soon after, through Mr. Sergeant's influence, the legislature of New York passed an act forbidding the sale of liquor to these Indians. For his action in this matter the worthy pastor was bitterly persecuted. A term, "white heathen," which he uses more than once, probably acquired vivid significance at this time. His people were tempted and ill-treated. While Indians sought to keep the Sabbath, white men violated it. Articles would be pressed upon the Indians in the way of sale, and later those who supposed themselves to be honest purchasers would be arrested as thieves and the possession of what they had bought would be used as evidence against them. It may be, as old President Dwight of Yale noted in his journal of "travels," 1798, September 20th, when he visited their former home in Massachusetts, "the body of them have, in many respects, sustained a very imperfect character." However, when we remember the good man's high standard of character, and read his other statement, that "several of them have been eminent for their understanding and more for their piety," we do not doubt that they compared favorably with their white neighbors.

There occurred in 1798 a remarkable admission to the church. One of the Munsee tribe, § seeking knowledge of the true God, had

† NOTE.—Father of the inventor of the telegraph.

‡ NOTE.—The organization, in 1787, of this society, which now co-operates with the American Missionary Association, is one of the evidences of the vitality of our churches in that unhappy time.

§ NOTE.-A branch of the Delawares (Leni-Lennappes). The Munsees seem to have been scattered in consequence of having taken sides against the colo-

left wife and home and come among the Stockbridges. He was baptized by the appropriate name of Abraham.

In 1802 the Stockbridges sent a delegation to the Delawares, whom, after an Indian fashion, they called their grandfathers, and to some other tribes, to urge them to receive the gospel. Of this Mr. Sergeant writes:

"A council was held at Wappecommehkoke on the banks of the White river, by Delawares and the delegates of the Moheakunnuk nation. The former then accepted all the proposals made by the latter, among which was civilization, of which, said the chief (Tatepahqsect), 'we take hold with both hands.' "

The Stockbridges brought to New York the Puritan institution of Thanksgiving. For the most part, while there they taught and sustained their own schools. Several of their young people were sent from home for higher instruction. One of these, a pupil in a "select school" kept by Miss Nancy Royce of Clinton, New York, became the first school-mistress in Wisconsin.

Though at first the Indians in this new settlement, owing to the distance from the whites,—alas, that we have to say so!—were less exposed than before to temptation, and though they and Mr. Sergeant fought hard against their great enemy, strong drink, the better men of the younger generation came to feel the need of another removal. In this movement Solomon U. Hendrick, John Metoxen and perhaps Austin E. Quinney, were leaders. To free their tribe from the allurements of the white man's grog-shop, and for other reasons, they urged removal to Indiana where a tract of land on White river had been given by the Miamis more than a century before to the Stockbridges and their kinsmen, the unfortunate Delawares. Here for many years there had been of the latter tribe a settlement which about 1818 numbered eight hundred souls. The title of the Stockbridges to this land was, in a carefully guarded manner, attested by President Jefferson, 1808, December 21st.

In 1810 and for some years later, one of the Stockbridges, Hendrick Aupaumut, a soldier in the American army at the time of Burgoyne's surrender, was in the White river country where he was

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nists in the American Revolution. From homes in New York, Canada and perhaps Indiana and elsewhere, some came in later years to Wisconsin, where they have united with the Stockbridges.

one of the most effective opponents of Tecumseh and his brother Elskwatawa, the "prophet," in the war in which General (afterward President) Harrison won his millitary reputation. In the war of 1812 which, to that part of the West, was merely a continuance of one already existing, Aupaumut, who dropped his Indian surname for Hendrick, took the American side, and became, if he were not already, an officer in our army. † His son Solomon, named above, about 1817 succeeded the father, once a worthy man but in his later years a victim of drunkenness, as chief of the tribe, but dying, was in turn followed by John Metoxen.

In the spring of 1817 the Stockbridges were made uneasy by the report that the land to which they had a claim, had been sold by the Delawares. But these, in answer to a letter of inquiry, denied the charge, adding: "When we rise in the morning, we have our eyes fixed toward the way you are to come, in expectation of seeing you coming to sit down by us as a nation."

Accordingly, some of the Stockbridges prepared for removal. Two or three families went that year. In June, 1818, Mr. Sergeant thus wrote to Dr. Morse: "About five families of my people will start for White river in three weeks. But they are still troubled by reports that the state government of Indiana intends to purchase the Indian lands." ‡

Others were added to the number of those proposing to emigrate. Mr. Sergeant collected the whole tribe on Friday, 24th of July, of that year, "with the view to have them present at the forming of a church from their tribe" of those "who, with a num-

† NOTE.—Rev. Cutting Marsh, who at Statesburg (South Kaukauna) in the summer of 1830 stood by the dying bed of Aupaumut, speaks of him as "captain" and says that his commission was signed by Washington. But it does not appear that Mr. Marsh saw the document and the old warrior's name is not to be found in the list of Revolutionary officers at the Department of State. Yet President Jefferson, in the attestation of the land-title mentioned above, calls him "captain."

‡ NOTE.—In 1818 the state of New York bought of the Stockbridge tribe a tract comprising four thousand five hundred acres. Other purchases were made in 1822, '23, '25, '26, '29 and '30. The cost of removal was thus provided for. As late as 1842 and '47 agreements were executed by the New York land commissioners and the Stockbridges, then in Wisconsin.

A visible memorial of the Stockbridges in New York for many years, if not at the present time, was their old church, built under the pastorate of John Sergeant, which, removed from its original site, was used as a house of worship as late as 1872 by the Baptist church of Cook's Corners, Madison county.

ber of others of the tribe, were about to remove and form a new settlement." On that day or the following a church of eleven members was duly organized. It was apparently Congregational and, if so, was probably the first of that denomination in Indiana, as it certainly was in Wisconsin. But in accordance with the "plan of union" between Presbyterians and Congregationalists, it was commended to the Presbytery of Ohio. ‡

CHAPTER IV.

THE CHURCH OF THE PILGRIMAGE.

But this Pilgrim church was not to find an end of its wandering as soon as it had hoped for. In September we read in the "Panoplist" † of their receiving the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper with white brethren in Ohio. In December Mr. Sergeant wrote: "The families left in August, consisting of a third part of my church-members, and a quarter part of the tribes,—in all from sixty to seventy souls from Oneida. They did not set out on their journey so soon by a month as they intended; and when they arrived the lands had all been sold. The poor Delawares had been forced to sell their lands." This news reached the emigrants while on their way. Thereupon some turned back, but John Metoxen and others, perhaps forty in number, pushed on and made their home in Ohio and Indiana for somewhat less than five years. While here they showed the vigor of their religious training by holding meetings on Sundays, in which the reading of Scott's commentary took the place of sermons. We learn that in May, 1819, our emigrants were so near Piqua, Ohio, that the (Presbyterian?) pastor there often preached to them. As white men would be, under like circumstances, they were sadly divided as to what was best to be done. "At length it was determined to unite at White river, and

† NOTE.—Now the "Missionary Herald."

‡ NOTE.—Miss Electa Jones.

endeavor to regain the land by application to the government. But their efforts were unavailing, and sickness wasted both their numbers and their spirits."

Soon, no doubt, they turned their eyes to Green Bay. It is said the Stockbridges had a century-old invitation from their kindred tribes there to come and dwell with them. Of much more practical worth than this were the efforts then making in their behalf by Dr. Morse and others. † With the delegation of 1822, some of the Stockbridges of New York had come as immigrants. These settled that autumn at Grand Kaukaulin (now South Kaukauna). To this place John Metoxen and his party from Indiana came that year, or, according to A. G. Ellis, in 1823. In this statement Mr. Ellis probably made an error which he himself helps to correct in volume II. of the Wisconsin Historical Collections, where he tells us that "the small immigrant party of some [about] fifty of the Stockbridges, which came on this year, located late in the fall at Grand Kakalin." But these apparently did not come with the delegation mentioned above. It is my opinion that they came from Indiana, not from New York, and Mr. Ellis gives the year of their arrival as 1822. The homeless wanderers in the White river country would be anxious enough to come to a place which they could call their own. That having been secured, it is not likely that they would long delay their coming. Thus it is probable, that with its attendant company in which, it may be, were at least some of the Munsees, the church of the pilgrimage under the leadership of John Metoxen came from Indiana to the Fox river country, in the autumn of 1822. On their way, after reaching Lake Michigan, these poor emigrants went in part by canoes upon the water and in part on foot upon the land.

† NOTE.—Under commission from John C. Calhoun, then secretary of war, and also under the auspices of the Northern Missionary Society of New York, Jedidiah Morse, D. D., a Congregational minister then of New Haven, Connecticut, a steadfast friend of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, came west in the summer of 1820. He preached at Fort Howard, July 9th, the first Protestant sermon in (what is now) Wisconsin. One of his objects was to find here, if possible, a home for the Stockbridges. These are to be counted among the "New York Indians" who in 1821 and 1822 sent hither delegations to secure from the Winnebagos and the Menomonees places for homes. After a long time, much negotiation and considerable pressure in their behalf, from the United States government, the "New York Indians" finally secured land on and near Fox river and Lake Winnebago.

"They drove their cattle along the shore, camping where night overtook them. They swam their cattle across the streams. They had great difficulty in getting them to cross the river at Chicago, but finally one large animal, bolder than the rest, plunged in and the others followed." † It would be a bold ox that would swim the Chicago river in these days!

Thus came to Wisconsin its first Puritan church. There was here neither minister nor priest. But these spiritual children of Sergeant and Edwards did not, in the wilderness, forget their God. "They kept up their meetings here also."

They had a worthy leader in Metoxen whose knowledge of Scripture is shown in a letter written, 1823, December 2nd, from "Cades, Green Bay" (probably Grand Kaukaulin), to John Sergeant, his old pastor. Mentioning the arrival of a new band he says: "Our brethren appear to be quite different from what they were when I first saw them. I trust that some of them are choosing God for their portion, remembering that he is the only source of true happiness for the immortal soul, and grieving because they had forsaken the only King of the universe. * * * * It is true, indeed, that the soul was made for God,—it came from God and can never be happy but in returning to him again. Thus we may have reason to believe that the Spirit of the Lord is moving upon them, saying, 'Arise ye and depart, for this is not your rest. If ye then be risen with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God.' "

Special significance is given to this letter by the remark: "He and Mrs. Metoxen found their backsliding brethren in deep waters. They had exposed themselves to err by the use of ardent spirits."‡ What temperance work in Wisconsin is of earlier date than that of these Indian Puritans, John Metoxen and his wife? With them the struggle against intoxicants was part of the gospel.

† NOTE.—Miss Helen C. Storm, of Stockbridge, Wisconsin.

‡ NOTE.—Even some of the delegation of 1821 were guilty of drunkenness.

CHAPTER V.

IN UNNAMED WISCONSIN.

We take up the story of those who had been left behind in New York. In 1822, as we have seen, the removal westward began. "In 1825," says one, writing of Kaukauna, "the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians were occupying the south side of the Fox river at this point." But the removal was not completed until 1829. In that year John W. Quinney gathered together the last, about thirty of the poor, and brought them to the new home of their people.

After Mr. Sergeant's death, Rev. Jesse Miner became pastor of the New Stockbridge church, as we learn from the third report of the "United Domestic Missionary Society." At the meeting of this body,—the immediate predecessor of the American, now the Congregational, Home Missionary Society, — held "Friday evening, May 13th, 1825," in New York city, Governor DeWitt Clinton and Chancellor James Kent appear as members. Aid was granted to the New Stockbridge church. In July, 1827, Mr. Miner came west under the auspices of the American Board, to visit the Stockbridge Christians and spent some weeks among them. In the new home of each, the church of the pilgrimage and the mother church from New York, became one again. To this re-united church Mr. Miner administered the sacrament and admitted members. Thus began the first pastorate over an organized Protestant church in what is now Wisconsin.

In the following year, 1828, he returned, bringing his family, to make a home with his people at what was then called Statesburg, now South Kaukauna. ‡ In the "Missionary Herald" for June,

‡ NOTE.—"This missson was known as Moheakunnuk, and opened June 20th, 1828." Thus wrote Dr. H. B. Tanner under date of 1892, January 12th. The date he gives may be that of the coming of Mr. Miner and family.

1829, a letter from him reports a revival and several additions to the church. "Twenty-five added since my arrival, fifteen others indulging hopes." But the hand that sent the glad tidings was even then forever still. His pastorate had ended with his life on the 22nd of the preceding March. Near where he labored in life his people made his grave. "I am sorry," writes Mr. Miner's daughter, † "that I can tell you so little of my father. An old Indian woman whom I met six years ago, who had belonged to his church, said that he was like a father to the Indians, and they loved him much. They gave him an Indian name, Wah-nuh-wah-meet, which means 'very true man.' ‡ He died at the age of forty-seven. The Indians had these words placed on his tombstone: 'He shall gather the outcasts of Israel together.' He had translated many of our hymns into their language, forming quite a hymn-book, from which they sang at his funeral. My father lies buried in the cemetery at Kaukauna, to which he was removed from the old mission burying-ground. Metoxen was loved of my father and revered of my elder brothers." §

Under Mr. Miner's pastorate, perhaps the summer of his first arrival, the Stockbridge people erected the first Protestant church on Wisconsin soil. Preceding Mr. Miner's second arrival at Green Bay in 1828, came thither May 18th of that year, John Y. Smith who afterward filled a large and honorable place in the history of our state. Employed by Mr. Miner, Mr. Smith came "to erect or work upon the mission buildings." Thus it is possible that the church (of which we shall hear again) was not built until 1828.

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† NOTE.—Mrs. M. A. Whitney, Grand Crossing, Illinois, 26th of May, 1891.

‡ NOTE.—Without doubt Mrs. Whitney is in error. It is probable that what she sought to transliterate is the Muh-he-ka-ne-ew term "Wah-weh-nuh-maht," "This true man." Literally it may be "This true-one," for the word for "man" is "mon-naow."

§ NOTE.—The stone now at the grave bears the inscription (with errors):

IN MEMORY OF
JESSE MINER,
BORN SEPT. 26, 1781.
COMMENCED THE MOHEAKUMUK MISSION
AT THIS PLACE, JUNE 20, 1828.
DIED MARCH 22, 1829,
AGED 49.

Even in that case, it was, for a time, the only one in what was soon to be Wisconsin, for the combination "church-and-school" which the Roman Catholics begun at Shantytown in 1823 had been burned.

I am inclined to the opinion that the first Statesburg church, which was a structure of the kind that our Indians learned to build, had been put up before Mr. Smith came thither, and that his first work in the place was to erect the missionary residence. This may have been the second framed house in what is now Wisconsin. † It was a story and a half building and stood, according to the recollection of Mr. James Madison Boyd, near where is now the round-house of the (Lake Shore) Chicago & Northwestern railway company. Another living witness ‡ thinks that the church was about three-fourths of a mile from Mr. Miner's house.

The "Winnebago war" of June, 1827, gave the Stockbridges and Oneidas an opportunity of showing their allegiance to the United States. Sixty-two of them joined a company raised by "General" William Dickinson and "Colonel" Ebenezer Childs. The "war" was scarcely more than several atrocious murders in the vicinity of Prairie du Chien. There is reason to fear that association with "Colonel" Childs would offset much teaching on the subject of temperance and almost every other virtue. Those who wonder that Christianity has accomplished no more for the Indians should remember that in its work for them it has had to contend with the vices of civilization as well as with those of savagery.

There probably never was a genuine Puritan church without a school close at hand. At Statesburg the schoolmaster soon followed the minister. On Tuesday, 4th of November, 1828, Augustus T. Ambler arrived at Statesburg. He came to establish a mission school but the state of his health prevented his doing so. A change of field did not long preserve his life. Going southward,

† NOTE.—See Wisconsin Historical Collections, Vol. VII. page 453. The account there seems to be somewhat confused. The language seems to indicate that he worked on a mission-house that was not at Kaukauna. If so, it must have been on a building belonging to the Episcopal mission. But as he had been employed by Mr. Miner, who was about to bring hither a large family and would certainly need a house for them, it seems probable that his first work was done on the missionary home at Kaukauna.

‡ NOTE.—George Thomas Bennett, born at Cedar Hill, Albany county, New York, 22nd of August, 1823.

he died in 1831 at one of the missions among the Choctaws. His place as teacher was taken by Miss Electa Wuh-weh-wee-nee-meew † Quinney, Wisconsin's first schoolmistress. ‡ Before this there had been schools at Prairie du Chien and Green Bay, but Miss Quinney's was probably the first free school within the present limits of our state. In it the Bible had an honored place. The next winter, that of 1829-30, Mr. Jedidiah Dwight Stevens was teacher. Probably he served also as pastor of the church, for Rev. Cutting Marsh, who had been appointed in 1829 as Mr. Miner's successor, was unable, on account of the early closing of navigation, to reach his field that autumn. "My father," writes Miss S. E. Marsh, "arrived among the Stockbridges on the first day of May, 1830, and preached his first sermon to them the next day, it being Sunday." Some time during the summer he stood at the dying bed of the old revolutionary soldier, Hendrick Aupaumut.

In his "Tour of the American Lakes," published in London in 1833, Rev. Calvin Colton, § afterwards professor in Trinity college, Hartford, Connecticut, writing under date of August 16th, 1830, gives a most entertaining account of the Stockbridge settlement on Fox river, at "Grande Kawkawlin" as he calls it. He explains that "Kawkawlin" means "falls" or "rapids," adding that "Grande" is French and needs no explanation. "I am now writing," he says, "from the mission house of the American Board. The Stockbridges number about three hundred fifty souls, and have probably made greater attainments in the English language and manners, and in the useful arts of civilized life, and also in the Christian religion, than any other tribe of the aboriginees on the continent; except that the Brotherton Indians have so long used English as to have lost their mother tongue. But in the moral state of society and in general improvement the Brothertons are far behind the Stockbridges." He then, as already noted, describes Dr. Ays-

† NOTE.—Or, "Wow-weh-wee-nee-meew."

‡ NOTE.—Miss Quinney's school has been called the first in Wisconsin. But according to the information available, the first Wisconsin school teacher was Jean Baptiste Jacobs. He was an English Jew and came to Green Bay in 1800, having lost all his property in Canada through the perfidy of his brother. He attempted to regain fortune in the fur trade, but in this he was not successful, and opened a school at Green Bay about 1803.

§ NOTE.—Then a Congregationalist or Presbyterian. In 1835 he entered the Episcopal ministry.

couth's gift. † It was kept "in a kind of an ark," suggestive to Mr. Colton of the ark of the covenant among the Hebrews. The day before was Sunday and he had attended service. Amid overhanging trees there was a well-built log church, used also as a school. It would seat a congregation of three hundred. There was a Sunday-school with Indian teachers and a white superintendent (probably J. D. Stevens). All the congregation were "neatly dressed in a costume about half way between the European habit and that of the wild tribes." This, to Mr. Colton's mind, suggested the degree of their civilization. "The men seldom wear hats." There were differences in dress indicating, as among whites, "social standing, degree of respectability, and domestic wealth." The afternoon sermon was "interpreted for the benefit of the small portion of the tribe who do not understand English." The singing is highly praised.

"The staff and office of parish beadle" particularly interested our traveler. He thinks it probable that the office with its peculiar duties originated in the time of John Sergeant, and makes no mention of the probability that it was merely a transference to an Indian church of a custom, that of choosing a tithing-man, existing at that time among their white neighbors. "The staff in the present instance was a green switch about ten feet long which the functionary had cut from the wood as he came to church." This was used with such vigor about the ears of at least one disorderly boy that they must have burned, Mr. Colton thinks, the rest of the day. A sleeping adult was roused by hitting, with the heavy end of the "switch," the stove-pipe until it rang, the beadle meanwhile crying out in Indian, "Wake up there!" This official is spoken of as severely and strictly impartial, and our traveler does not doubt that even a stranger would be duly admonished if there should be

† NOTE.—A venerable German stadthalter(?) was so much interested in Mr. Colton's narrative that he sent the Stockbridges twelve of the finest Bibles to be had in London.

"There were also twelve Bibles given the tribe August 3rd, 1835, by Charles, Landgrave of Hesse Denmark. The people were allowed to give away to destitute tribes, and now only four are in possession and only one fit for the pulpit."—Mrs. Sarah J. Slingerland, 1891, May 26th.

What the good lady (widow of Jeremiah Slingerland) means by "Hesse Denmark" I don't know. A first thought is of Hesse Darmstadt. But its rulers are grand dukes and in '35 Louis II. was reigning (1830-48).

need. Good order has always been noted as a characteristic of the religious meetings of these people. On this particular occasion the preacher was manifestly disturbed though the congregation remained unmoved, taking the whole proceding as a matter of course. The drowsy one gave good heed to the rest of the sermon, and the fact is noted that the congregation were very attentive.

Another thing that especially interested Mr. Colton was the fact that after the benediction the congregation sat down, giving those nearest the door an opportunity to retire. Others then followed without confusion.

It may also be mentioned here that when these people first came to Wisconsin, and for years thereafter, they followed the old New England custom of beginning the Sabbath at sunset Saturday evening.

Writing under date of 1831, January 11th, Mr. Stevens gives the number of the tribe as two hundred twenty-five. Thus it is probable that Mr. Colton's "three hundred fifty" was an over-estimate. There were in the church fifteen men, twenty-seven women, It is pleasant to read in a later communication from him that "on the last Sabbath in January, 1832, Rev. Richard F. Cadle, superintendent of the Episcopal mission at Green Bay, administered the sacrament." Mr. Cadle's worth redeemed the mission which he had in charge from the reproach which the mendacious Eleazar Williams had brought upon it. In the autumn of 1833 Mr. and Mrs. Stevens left Statesburg. Soon they began work among the Sioux, and in 1835 established a mission at Lake Harriet, within the present limits of Minneapolis. This was part of the beginning of the great work which has practically changed the character of that tribe, known from the time of Marquette as ferocious and dangerous enemies; a work which, begun on the upper Mississippi, has place now in Nebraska and the Dakotas by the turbid waters of the Missouri. †

† NOTE.—Work was done for the Sioux within the present limits of our own state. Two men, perhaps from the St. Crishona seminary though more probably from the mission training school (both) at beautiful Basel in Switzerland, where the swift Rhine turns northward on its course from the Alps to the sea, came to the upper Mississippi region. Amid the mountain-like bluffs near the present village of Trempeauleau, not far from where Nicholas Perrot spent the winter of 1685-6, if not on the very spot, one of these men, Rev. Daniel Gavin, with an associate, Louis Straum, whom he found at Prairie du Chien,

Soon the whites wanted Statesburg. To be sure the Indians had made farms there and begun to improve its famous water-power by building a saw-mill and beginning a grist-mill, destined never to be finished. But they were compelled to move again. Part of our story is told in extracts from a pathetic letter dated 1833, October 14th, † and addresssd to the American Board:

"We wish to tell you that our hearts are glad,—that we are thankful, first to God for giving us the gospel, the Bible and teachers, and next to you for sending them to us. The good people beyond the great waters first found us when we were blind and ignorant and wicked. We had no teachers, no Bible, no God, no Christ. We worshipped the bad spirit. They sent us the good book and teachers about one hundred years ago. * * But we were very dull to learn; many of us followed after strong drink. * * As a tribe we were nigh to ruin. Then we came to this country. * * Here you kindly sent us teachers who have done much for us. * * Nearly the whole tribe have become temperate and far more industrious than before. * * Until recently it has never been believed by us that the whole tribe could be converted to Christianity, but now we are fully convinced and do firmly believe that the whole tribe can, not only be fully civilized but brought to embrace the Christian religion. * * We expect soon to leave our present settlement * and again to commence anew in the wilderness. Hard as this is we have en-

made the first modern settlement within the limits of Trempeauleau county. His Swiss colleague, Rev. Samuel Denton, in the spring of 1835, established a mission where is now the village of Red Wing, Minnesota. Rev. Alfred Brunson, who saw both these missionaries on his first trip up the river above Prairie du Chien (1837) thinks that the Red Wing establishment was founded in 1834. Both movements were unsuccessful, as was also an attempt by Rev. J. D. Stevens to found a mission at Wah-pa-sha's village, now Winona. The chief named was hostile to all these missionary efforts, and as they were neither French nor Romanist the traders gave them no favor. In 1837 the Sioux transferred to the United States government the land on which stood the Trempeauleau mission, and in the following year Mr. Gavin abandoned the field. He then joined his colleague who had married Miss Persis Skinner of the Mackinaw mission. He himself in 1839 married Miss Lucy C. Stevens, niece of J. D. Stevens, and this missionary quaternion found other homes among the Sioux and, in connection with missionaries of the American Board, continued labor with them.

† NOTE.—It was signed by Jacob Cheekthaukon, John Metoxen, Austin E. Quinney, Thomas T. Hendrick, Andrew Miller, Timothy T. Jourdan, Cornelius S. Charles, John W. Quinney, Samuel A. Miller and Josiah W. Miller.

deavored to reconcile our minds to it. * * Still we cannot avoid feeling much solicitude on the subject.

"The Sacs and Fox and Delaware tribes of Indians are our friends and relatives, and a delegation from our people intend visiting them next season. Can we not tell them the great benefits we have received from being taught the gospel? Can we not tell them that your society is ready to send them teachers if they are willing to receive them? Can you not appoint a missionary to accompany us? Fathers, if you think there is any way we can do good in our visit to our poor brethren beyond the Mississippi, we wish you would give us some instructions."

The narrative is continued in a letter by Chauncey Hall, dated 1834, July 2nd, at Statesburg, but postmarked "Grand Cakalin." It was addressed to Mr. Edmund F. Ely of the Ojibway mission at Sandy Lake, in what is now Minnesota. The postage, eighteen and three-fourths cents, reminds us that certainly in some things the former days were not better than these.

"When Rev. Mr. Green was at Mackinaw last summer, an arrangement was made for my future labors which made it probable that I should in the course of the coming fall or early in the spring leave Mackinaw for the place from which I am now writing. This station was occupied by the Rev. Mr. Marsh and Mr. and Mrs. Stevens. Mr. Stevens and wife left last fall, but it was not consistent for me to leave till spring. * * We [himself and wife] left Mackinaw on the 21st of May at 2 o'clock P. M., Monday, and arrived at Green Bay on Wednesday evening. Our passage was in the steamboat Oliver Newbury † and, though we were detained by fogs, was very pleasant.

"We left Green Bay on Friday at 12 o'clock, and proceeded up the Fox river. * * We reached the mission-house at 3 P. M., had time to get our baggage, etc., from the landing (one and one-half miles distant in consequence of the rapids) and get very comfortably settled before evening. Rev. Mr. Marsh gave us a very cordial reception. He has been alone since last fall, much of the time without any one to attend to his domestic concerns, and he was truly glad to receive fellow-laborers. We found in him what

† NOTE.—Oliver Newbury of Detroit, Michigan, was a steamboat owner. But Mr. J. M. Boyd thinks that there was no boat bearing his name.

we expected, a kind and warm-hearted Christian, much devoted to his work, and enjoying to a great degree the love and confidence of the people for whom he labors. * * The condition of the Indians among whom we dwell presents much that is truly encouraging to the missionary, and methinks a view of them as they collect together for the worship of God, or talk of His love in their dwellings, would make the heart of one destined to labor among the uncivilized Indians, where no gospel has extended its benign influence, to rejoice in view of what the Lord has done, and encourage him to pursue his labors assured that He who has done so much for these Indians is able also to extend the work and will do it through the instrumentality of His children. The church among the Stockbridge Indians consists of sixty or seventy members. Most of them adorn their profession. Several who had wandered from the path of duty have recently returned with apparent penitence, and, as far as I know, their lives give evidence that it is sincere. The church is a temperance church, agreeing to abstain from the use of all strong drink, not excepting wine, strong beer and cider. Most of the tribe are members of a temperance society which exerts a salutary influence. At their last annual meeting, a few weeks since, they resolved to give up the use of wine, strong beer and cider. (The resolution had before existed but in the church.)

"Perhaps from what I write, you will conclude that we are among a people so civilized that we have nothing to remind us that we are on missionary ground. Truly we are among those for whom 'the Lord has done great things.' Yet had I time and room I could tell you with all that seems to be cheering much that would lead you to feel that, if we are not in the midst of heathenism, we have enough to remind us of heathen wretchedness, enough to call forth the compassion of feeling hearts, enough to call forth our unwearied labors and to lead us to ask with sincerity for an interest in your prayers.

"I mentioned the absence of the Rev. Mr. Marsh. He left with five of the principal Indians on the 12th of June. In the 'Missionary Herald' for April, 1834, is a letter from the chief man of the Stockbridge Indians which will explain to you the object of this journey. Much interest has been and is still manifested

by the Indians in the mission to their benighted neighbors. On the Sabbath previous to their departure, Mr. John Metoxen, the head chief of the tribe, addressed his people at the evening meeting. He was one of the delegation, and he reminded his friends in a feeling and dignified manner, that they were soon to be separated: that perhaps this was their last meeting upon earth. Then he spoke of the contemplated journey to their neighbors west of the Mississippi, and he appeared deeply to feel the importance of the errand on which they were going.

"He said it was the first time their people had undertaken to tell the 'glad tidings' to their brethren in darkness. He expressed his sense of the blessings which had been conferred on them through the gospel; of the preciousness of their privileges, and the obligation which rested upon them to improve them, as well as to discharge their duty to their wretched brethren. With much feeling he spoke of the condition of the heathen, and particularly of the Indians, while destitute of the gospel. His heart seemed to feel for their wretchedness in this life, but the burden of his sorrows seemed to be the hopelessness of their condition in the future world while destitute of a saving knowledge of Jesus. He assured them of his attachment to home and his desire to return, but expressed the most cheerful resignation of the will of his Heavenly Father respecting this. His counsel to his people who were to remain was faithful and affectionate, earnestly desiring their prayers for a blessing upon this embassy.

"The absence of Mr. Marsh and the chief men takes from the Indians those who have been their counselors, and we are not without our fears respecting the effect, particularly as this will be a season of much temptation, as the Indians are to receive their money for their improvements and are much unsettled in consequence of removing. Our hope is that He who has promised that 'they who water shall be watered' will watch over us. We have had cheering indications that the Lord was with us for two or more weeks past. Christians have been evidently revived, and two or three individuals have publicly expressed anxiety for the salvation of their souls, and asked for the counsels and the prayers of Christians. Our meetings are well attended and our Sunday school is interesting. About half the people have removed to the new station about twenty miles

from us and forty from Green Bay, the nearest white settlement. We expect to remove there in a few months as well as the remainder of the people; have yet to remove the timber and erect a dwelling."

To the "new station" was given the old name Stockbridge. Thither in this same month, July, 1834, came Rev. Abel Lester Barber, driven from Mackinaw by the failure of his health. Thus, in trying a climate more remote from the lakes, he was added to the mission force at Stockbridge. We shall hear of him later at Fort Winnebago and Milwaukee. † At the latter place he had the first commission which the American Home Missionary society issued for Wisconsin.

† NOTE.—In the winter of 1834-35, Mr. Barber gathered a church at Fort Winnebago, and in the following July or August removed to Milwaukee. Apparently he was the second clergyman to hold service in that place and the first to make his home there.

CHAPTER VI.

ANOTHER STOCKBRIDGE AND A FOURTH REMOVAL.

Mr. Hall's fear that the summer of 1834 would be "a season of temptation" to the Indians was abundantly verified as is evident from the report of the mission presented in September at the annual meeting of the Board:

"During the past year the Indians of this band have continued in nearly the same unsettled state in which they were last year; and being sometimes on their old lands and sometimes on their new, they have enjoyed but irregularly the advantages of Christian instruction or of the school. The religious meetings and the

school have been small and fluctuating. It is hoped, however, that the Indians will all become settled in their new homes during the present autumn. Numbers of them have cleared and fenced large fields for themselves, have erected comfortable houses, and are laboring industriously on their new lands. A good building for the school and for religious meetings has also been erected, principally by themselves. The mission premises on their former reservation were appraised at two thousand dollars; and the amount has been paid over to the Board by the United States. A new mission house has been built at the new town, and the mission family removed to it last fall. The school and the religious meetings have been held there since that time.

"Intoxicating drinks have been introduced among these Indians in great quantities, and oftentimes urged upon them gratuitiously, for the sole purpose, apparently, of enticing them to sin. Many of the irreligious Indians have given themselves up to drinking; and its consequences, quarreling and fighting, have prevailed to a lamentable extent. Some of the church members have also fallen into sin, under similar temptation, while many others hold on their way, and give increasing evidence that they are sealed with the Holy Spirit. Three or four members of the church are under censure; one young man has been received to church fellowship, and one had died in the faith."

In a letter dated at Stockbridge, 1835, March 25th, Mr. Marsh makes a report of the trans-Mississippi trip which he made with Metoxen and others. We subjoin the more important parts:

"Set out on the 12th of June (1834). Upon the 14th encamped for the Sabbath, having in full view to our right the Big Buttes des Morte, which had taken its name from the slaughter of an entire Sac village by the French and Menominees about one hundred years ago. As we pursued our journey we occasionally saw lodges of Winnebagoes along upon the banks but no corn fields or vegetables of any kind which they had growing. Whenever they saw us coming they would * * beg as if half starved. Col. Cutler informed me that * * they were the most indolent, thieving tribe that he knew of. He had known as many as three or four hundred drunk at one time. * * The Cumberland Presbyterians have a mission among them near Prairie du Chien.

The Catholics are making some effort to proselyte them and numbers are Catholics at the present time.

"The second Sabbath, June 22nd, we passed at a place called the Pine Bend on the Wisconsin, about sixty miles from Portage, where was a small settlement. A few Indians were present and attended religious worship with us. We arrived at Prairie du Chein on the 25th and finding that Dr. Williamson had left we made no tarry. Saturday evening, the 28th, we arrived at Rock Island. Dr. Williamson had left this place also the day previously.

"Mr. Metoxen had an interview with Black Hawk who was returning from Rock Island to his village, which Mr. Metoxen had just been to visit.

"Black Hawk went on to tell how kindly he was treated by the white people wherever he went when on his tour. 'In no place,' says he, 'did I see white men and white squaws drinking together the same as our people do. When I passed through your place it was just so, and I want to have my people just like those good white people, for I see where they do not drink they do better and live better. Now what do you think is best about receiving missionaries?' ' 'By all means receive them,' I replied,' says Mr. Metoxen, 'for they will do you good.' Black Hawk: 'But the trader, Mr. Davenport, told me not to have anything to do with them for they would only make you worse.' †

* * * * * * * *

"Our attempt to establish a mission amongst the Sacs and Foxes entirely failed of success.

"I went to visit old Ke-o-kuck's village soon after my arrival. He told my interpreter that he knew what I had come for but he wanted to learn nothing about it. ‡ The head chief, called the 'Stabber,' said the same thing to my interpreter when I went to his lodge. As they had no previous notice of my visit, and inasmuch as their mode of treating the subject was so contrary to the

† NOTE.—Mr. Metoxen tells of his difficulties not only because the traders were opposed but because the United States interpreter, besides being connected with the American Fur Company, was a Romanist.

‡ NOTE.—Ke-o-kuk continued to be so much of a heathen that, during or about 1840, he had a squaw put to death for the alleged reason that she bewitched one of his children.

rules of Indian etiquette, I do not hesitate to say that they had particular instructions previously.

"After a few days the Stockbridges met with the 'Stabber,' who is considered by the Sacs as the head chief, but not by the white people. They proposed to the 'Stabber' to make the intended visit to his people. At first he objected, but consented after they had told him that they had provisions of their own. They went and stayed about five days, but having no interpreter could converse but little with the Sacs and so the latter understood little of the object of the visit. Still I had reason to believe from what I afterwards ascertained, that a favorable impression was made on the minds of the Sacs by the visit. After this the Stockbridges set their faces towards home. I had gone down the river to visit one of the most remote bands upon the river Des Moines.

"The deportment of the Stockbridge delegation during the whole tour was such as to do honor to themselves and to the cause of missions. Many white people where they went had never seen a civilized or Christian Indian before. Often the most singular inquiries would be made, as 'Do they belong to the church?' 'Can they speak English?' etc. On their return they were of course alone and they came by land part of the way. In the mining country, not far from Galena the Sabbath overtook them and there they stopped until it was passed. I returned the same way and heard it remarked by some of the people 'that they sang hymns all Sabbath day.' This seemed not only new but strange to those who make no distinction betwen one day and another when traveling.

"The appearance of John Metoxen, his conversation, etc., were universally spoken of with admiration, particularly by Christians.

"My connection with Dr. Williamson was short. Together we visited Appenoose's village one hundred twenty-five miles from the mouth of the Des Moines. After Dr. Williamson left to return to his friends in Ohio I was attacked with dysentery. I returned about one hundred miles down the Des Moines river to the house of a trader, Mr. William Phelps, where I was sick one week.

"Mr. Phelps, though a professed infidel in sentiment, still was friendly to my object. He declared that if something were not done soon for the Sacs, etc., they would all be swept off. He treat-

ed me with great hospitality. He and a brother of his are trading in opposition to the American Fur Company and it rather operates to our advantage than otherwise."

"A tour by land and water of over 1,300 miles;" "absence of three months and some days," are among Mr. Marsh's comments on his journey.

CHAPTER VII.

AT STOCKBRIDGE,---AND AWAY!

Scarcely were the Stockbridges settled in their new homes when another removal was proposed. "Even now," says the annual report to the Board for 1836, "when the Indians have hardly put up their houses and cleared and enclosed their fields, the proposal has been made to take them from their homes again, and transport them to a country west of the Mississippi river, Their minds are beginning to be agitated on the subject. The perplexity and discouragement to which the missionaries are subjected from this source are very great; but not to be compared with the disheartening and deteriorating influence exerted on the Indians by being so often obliged to abandon the houses and fields which they were just beginning to enjoy, and to prepare for themselves other homes of which they may be despoiled as soon." Of their condition otherwise at that time the narrative adds, "Temperance, industry and attention to religious instruction, have been more general than for the preceding two or three years. Temptatations have beset the people from the white settlers who are crowding in around them. Some painful cases of defection have occurred. Others have resisted temptation so as to excite the admiration of unprincipled men. Mr. Marsh has assisted in organizing a church at Green Bay. He

preaches there occasionally." A second school had been started in the Indian settlement.

The purpose to remove the Indians west of the Mississippi was abandoned, and for some years the tribe had peace. Of this time Rev. L. P. Norcross † writes: "Their palmy days were during the reign of the Quinney or tribal party." Probably he should have said that their palmy days were before the division into tribal and citizens' parties began. "Quinney," he adds, "was a man of character, ability and a Christian." Doubtless John W. Quinney is meant. Another writer says: "He was to his people what Clay and Webster were to the whites. In 1833 he framed a constitution as a basis of the tribal government." ‡ During these years the principal events seem to have been the coming in the spring of 1837 of some Munsees from Canada, and the removal in 1838 of a part of the Stockbridge tribe beyond the Missouri. A place seems to have been provided through the agency of the Ogden Land Company § of New York. After a few years most of those left alive were glad to return though some of the younger people remained. In the autumn of 1838, when the American Board felt most keenly the financial stringency of the time, Mr. and Mrs. Hall left the mission. We shall hear of Mr. Hall again as representative of the Green Bay church when the Presbyterian and Congregational Convention of Wisconsin was organized. The Stockbridge Indian church was the first one not of the original number to join this body. It was received at a session held 1841, January 2nd, for the purpose of installing Rev. Jeremiah Porter as pastor at Green Bay. John Metoxen was delegate. During this winter, as in 1837, there was a revival in the Stockbridge church. The school during 1841 was under the direction of the Indians.

But evil was brewing. The "Missionary Herald" for January, 1840, speaks of political divisions. One party desired citizenship,

† NOTE.—Pastor of the existing church at Stockbridge, Wisconsin, from May, 1869, to January, 1870.

‡ NOTE.—Probably the constitution found in the appendix is substantially the same as the one drawn up by Mr. Quinney.

§ NOTE.—This company was eager to get possession of the New York lands that belonged to the remnants of the Iroquois or Six Nations. So they sought to get reservations in what is now Kansas for them and for such of their brethren as had removed to Wisconsin.

the other preferred to remain in the tribal condition. The ill-feeling thus engendered proved to be a veritable Pandora's box of evils. Because of it the tribe is worse off, probably in every respect, than it was fifty years ago. However, citizenship was bestowed by an act of Congress approved 1843, March 3rd. This measure had Mr. Marsh's support, but many of the tribe, and apparently some of the better portion of it, opposed the change. There is report of strife in 1844. Death and emigration had diminished the tribe which numbered not many more than two hundred. The church had fifty members, only five more than it had in 1830, though meanwhile it had received sixty-eight. The report for 1845 states that "in temperance, industry, healthfulness and comfortable living, the tribe appear to be making some progress." The Sabbath was generally observed.

In this year, 1845, probably April, Methodist services were established among these people by the Rev. W. G. Miller, from whose autobiography we have an account of the movement. "There had been," he says, "a Congregational mission among the Stockbridge nation for many years, but its condition was not very promising." He speaks of "Dr." Marsh as "a gentleman of education and ability," but adds, "he divided his time, however, between the ministerial and medical professions, and the spiritual interests necessarily languished." It may be that good Mr. Miller wrote thus seeking to justify action which was certainly divisive, and probably unwise. Meetings were held in "Father Chick's" barn. Mr. Miller speaks of him as "the head chief" which he was not. But he was a leader of the citizens' party.

The gift of citizenship was withdrawn in 1846 from those who did not desire it. In January, 1847, one of their number, of mixed blood, Jeremiah Slingerland, educated at Bangor theological seminary, is especially mentioned in the "Herald." He had been "laboring among them acceptably and usefully as preacher and teacher." He became the successor of Rev. Cutting Marsh who ended his long pastorate at Stockbridge in the spring or summer of 1848. In the same year the Stockbridge tribe, avowedly for the purpose of ridding themselves of further trouble, sold their lands at Winnebago lake.

But this act itself gave occasion for fresh dispute. It would

seem that an attempt was made to keep from all share in tribal government and control of tribal property those,—seventy-one in number,—who had accepted citizenship. These, it was alleged, had received, on becoming citizens, allotments of land that were the equivalent of their share of the property,—the land of the reservation that had been held by the tribe in common. It is not my office to pronounce judgment.

The faithful memory of one still among the living † has preserved for us a picture of the condition of the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok at this time of the impending and hurtful change. Nearly all the homes of the people were of logs, but there were a few frame houses. For years Mrs. March had been a teacher of good house-keeping to the women and many followed, at least in some measure, her example. But there was a considerable number who did not properly guard against dirt and vermin. Naturally there were sneers for those who tried to fashion their apparel after the manners of the whites. The women of the progressive party wore at church and other public places beaver hats shaped somewhat like the silk hats so commonly worn by gentlemen. The other women wore neither hat nor bonnet. Men and women alike to the number of perhaps half or more of the tribe, wore "blankets." These were commonly of blue broadcloth, and were worn in public. The men all wore pantaloons and shirts. But the order in which were worn the parts of these garments that are next to each other does not accord with our ideas of propriety. The want of suspenders was manifest by the constant "hitching" needed to keep the pantaloons in place. The women did most of the work, even of that in the field. Yet there were men who had accepted enough of Christian teaching to know that this kind of work was especially their duty and to act accordingly. Some of the families lived at a considerable distance from the school but all the children received therein more or less training. Nearly all the tribe attended church. Their Sabbath, as in former years, began at sunset on Saturday evening. Mrs. Benson heard or saw nothing of the "elegantly festooned whip" that Mr. Norcross speaks of but she remembers a peeled stick used for the same purpose. There were still so many of the tribe who under-

† NOTE.—Sabra Howes Adams, now the wife of Rev. H. H. Benson, of Wauwatosa, Wisconsin.

stood Indian that Mr. Slingerland occasionally preached in it. This Mr. Marsh did not think necessary. Some of the young men had been educated in Eastern colleges. These, with the possible exception of Mr. Slingerland, did no credit to their training. They married half-civilized women and lapsed into something worse than their former mode of life. Mrs. Benson's work among the people, like that of Mr. Marsh, came to an end in 1848. Then the American Board gave up its mission. This seems now and is judged by Mrs. Benson to have been a serious mistake.

Now that both these men are in their graves, it may be said that Mr. Marsh had no confidence in his successor,- -or supplanter. He left Stockbridge with a feeling of despair regarding the future of the church to which he had so long ministered. His distrust of Mr. Slingerland was shared by some of the clearest headed of the Indians themselves. Yet it does not become us to reproach the memory of the dead who has left none of his name to defend him. †

During the gloomy years that followed the sale of the Lake Winnebago reservation, the Stockbridges were not entirely neglected. At the meeting of our state Presbyterian and Congregational Convention in 1854, their delegate, S. Miller, presented their case, and a committee was appointed "to memorialize the proper department of the Government, in our name, in behalf of the Stockbridge tribe, setting forth their grievances, and petitioning for the restoration to them of their lands." The Convention also resolved that "we feel it incumbent upon us to endeavor to procure for them the stated ministration of the gospel." Mr. Slingerland's service seems to have ended before 1853, for in that year a name, O. P. Clinton, lately added to the number of the dead, (1890, June 17th), appears as pastor. In 1854 and in 1859 we find him in the same office, which was held in two of the intervening years, 1856 and 1857, by J. P. Jones. During these pastorates whites worshiped with the Indians in the old mission house, erected in 1834. ‡ "Indian church

† NOTE.—While this work has been in preparation his widow, a white woman, always faithful to him and to his memory, and honored by all who knew her, has passed away.

‡ NOTE.—This old "meeting-house," still standing though degraded, is worthy of an historic monograph. It suggests the fact that Stockbridge, more, probably, than any other place in Wisconsin, reproduced some of the features of a New England town of the eighteenth century. Their "meeting-house" was

nearly extinct," say our minutes of 1859, "church of whites about to be organized." It is to be regretted that they did not unite with their Indian brethren in Christian covenant, and thus formally as well as really continue the life of the old church organized, as we have seen, at Stockbridge, Massachusetts, in 1785. Its records were lost in the removal to Shawano which took place between 1856 and 1859. By far the greater part of the tribe made this change. A few, however, remained. In this number were "quiet, unostentatious, sincere Christians," as they were described years afterwards. Uniting with their white brethren these kept the life of the old church unbroken.

Whether or not the "memorial" proposed in the Convention of 1854 was ever presented, I do not know. It was too late for the tribe to recover its lands on Lake Winnebago. Indeed, if any Indian tribe has ever recovered from the United States government lands once alienated I have never heard of the fact. 1856, February 5th, a treaty was made assigning to the tribe the present Stockridge reservation in Shawano county, and this treaty all were allowed to sign, whether citizens or members of the tribe. Removal to the new home began in that year. Some came in October. I have been told that most of the tribe made the change in 1857. The

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used, not only for religious service but for other public gatherings. This old building, after serving as a Congregational church until 1869, December 19th, became successively a school, a printing office and a blacksmith shop. It has had in it, probably, more silver money than has been at one time in any other house of worship in Wisconsin,—making no exception for Sundays when special collections have been taken for missions either home or foreign! At one government payment the Indians received therein eighty thousand or more silver half dollars. The use of the same building for purposes both of church and state,—merely different aspects of the same Christian commonwealth,—was judged right by the Puritan, and did not imply any unbecoming use of the house wherein he worshiped God. He had little use for the term "secular", in its present meaning. It is probable that the tribal meetings of the Stockbridges, like the town meetings of the olden time and some of the present, in New England, were opened with prayer.

Two tithing men or "beadles," to use Mr. Colton's term, were chosen at the annual church meeting to keep good order during service. We may suppose that this included the prevention of "gazing about, sleeping, smiling and all other indecent behavior,"—the words on this subject of the Presbyterian Directory for Public Worship. The switch of the time of Mr. Colton's visit was, according to Rev. L. P. Norcross, succeeded later by a whip. "This means of grace was elegantly mounted," he says, and the lash was "festooned in curious style."

journey was across Lake Winnebago and up the Fox and Wolf rivers. A tributary of the latter, called the Red river, flows through the reservation then occupied and still held. I have been told that some Indians from New York,—Senecas, Onondagoes and Cayugas, about eighty in all,—joined the Muh-he-ka-ne-ok at the time of this last removal.

What wonder that the Indians left Stockbridge unwillingly? We are glad that the leaders in the Wisconsin-ward migration were not called upon to abandon the home to which they had led their people. John W. Quinney died 1855, July 21st. Upon a marble slab, now grown mossy, in the old Indian cemetery by the lakeside, is the legend, "John Metoxen, died April 8th, 1858, aged 87 years." We have a right to claim as our own this son of Massachusetts. Let his name stand first in the list of Wisconsin's honored laymen. Aside from Dr. Morse, he was probably the first to hold public worship on Wisconsin soil according to the simple rites of the Puritan. And he was the first, after the departure of the early French Jesuits (who are so much overpraised and whose work is so much overvalued by sentimentalists and sectarians) to maintain here regularly the public worship of Almighty God.

During our late war, not less than thirty-eight men, more than one-tenth of the entire tribe, enlisted in the Union army. Heavy were their losses by disease. But not one deserted. This taking of men from the infant settlement must have greatly retarded its development.

Deprived of their leaders and neglected by our ministers and missionary societies, the Indians suffered their old church organization to lapse. A Methodist church took its place and Mr. Slingerland, who was teaching the government school, became a local preacher of that denomination. "But the old faithful ones," writes his widow, "could not feel at home." Mr. Slingerland's preferences were for a Presbyterian church, and one was organized in September, 1867, to which he ministered until his death in 1884. Christian work was steadily maintained though the church was pastorless until October, 1887, when Rev. A. W. Williams began a year's service. In April, 1889, Rev. Thomas Knox Fisher bagan his labors. "The work," he wrote, "is certainly very encouraging." But he remained only two years. He was succeeded, probably in July, 1891,

by Thomas H. Haug. He was ill-adapted to his field and left in or about February, 1892. Rev. Jacob Van Rensslaer Hughes, Presbyterian pastor of Shawano, now shepherds these people as he can amid other duties of a faithful pastorate.

In 1871 some of the families renounced the tribal condition and became citizens. A movement is now on foot to break up the reservation system and allot land in severalty. It would seem that this might better have been done half a century ago.

Doubtless these people are somewhat broken in spirit. But their history is an inspiration. And if this story of their past shall help to make better the present and the future, he who has written this imperfect sketch will be glad.

In closing the story of these people we remember that they have been served in the pastorate by men of as eminent piety and as great ability as America, or perhaps the world, has yet produced, that repeatedly they have carried the light of Christian civilization into the wilderness, that theirs was the first evangelical church in what is now Wisconsin, and that from their humble mission went light to the region round about and to tribes in the darkness of heathenism. When the Romanists had here no resident priest, when no Methodist itinerant had yet penetrated this wilderness, and in it the Episcopalians had neither church nor minister, these Christian Indians came hither as an organized church, and this church before any other was organized here, God blessed with a revival. The first free school in Wisconsin was theirs, and the first of the great company of women who here publish the divine word of education was of Stockbridge blood. As years went on they aided, through their pastor, in establishing churches among the whites. Fugitives from slavery found shelter in their settlement. Better than their service in six wars for our country, is the fact that wherever they lived there are now churches and schools which they helped to found and homes which they helped to make. Surely these Muh-he-ka-ne-ok, "the people of the waters that are never still," have a claim upon the grateful remembrance of all who love our Lord Christ.

APPENDIX.

CONSTITUTION

OF THE

STOCKBRIDGE AND MUNSEE TRIBE

OF INDIANS.

A council was called and held by the males of the Moh-he-con-news (commonly called the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe),at Aaron Konkaput's house at our new homes near the southern boundary of the Menomonee Reservation, in the State of Wisconsin, this 30th day of December, A. D., 1856.

Resolved, That John N. Chicks, Timothy Jourdan and Ziba T. Peters be a committee to form a Constitution similar to that heretofore adopted by the tribe and to present the same week from to-day for adoption.

Resolved, That the tract of land granted to the united nation of the Stockbridge and Munsee Indians and is located in the State of Wisconsin, near on the north side of the southern boundary line of the Menomonee Reservation and west from Wolf River, shall hereafter be called or named, Moh-he-con-nuck, and by this name the place aforesaid shall ever hereafter be designated in all public acts and documents whereinsoever it may be named.

Resolved, That the council now adjourn until one week from to-day, when there shall be an election of national officers, and that Ziba T. Peters, the Sachem, be authorized to provide victuals for the people on the expense of the nation.

Entered of record by Pon-poon-hout, alias

JOHN N. CHICKS.

Pursuant to adjournment, the males of said tribe held a general council at the dwelling house of John Yoccum, this *6th day* of January, A. D. 1857. The committee reported the fol-

lowing articles of Constitution, which were read and adopted and are in the following words, to-wit:

The Constitution.

Whereas, The Great Spirit has made His mighty arm bare in the preservation and establishment of a part of the Moh-he-con-neew (known as the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe), on the western part of the Wolf River, on the north side of the southern boundary line of the Menomonee Reservation, in the State of Wisconsin.

Therefore, We, the Chiefs, Braves and Warriors of the Stockbridge and Munsee tribe, being assembled at one new fire place at Moh-he-con-nuk, in the State of Wisconsin, this 6th day of January, A. D. 1857, having considered that our peculiar situation highly demands combined efforts in order the more efficiently to execute our best intentions and purposes hereinafter enumerated, do hereby voluntarily make, ordain and declare, that the following articles shall be considered as articles of our union and confederations, which shall remain unalterable unless by common consent.

Article I.

There shall be no distinction made of the united tribe of Stockbridge and Munsee Indians on account of descent or birth (saving where character and qualification shall render any person ineligible for any post of trust or honor), but all shall alike be entitled to enjoy the rights, privileges and advantages of the nation.

Article II.

That all such of the Stockbridges and Munsees, whether they are now residing in the State of New York or Wisconsin, or any where in the United States, who were not provided for either in land or money, shall at least have the privilege of coming and taking up lots of land on the tract given to the Stockbridges and Munsees, by the treaty of February 5th, 1856.

Article III.

Every male of the age of twenty-one years or upwards (or under twenty-one years if legally married, in which case he shall be admitted on an equal footing with those of the age aforesaid), shall be entitled to vote for national officers herein elective.

Article IV.

Schools and the means of education shall ever be encouraged.

Article V.

No person or any assembly of people, met for the worship of God on the Lord's day or at any other time, shall be disturbed.

Article VI.

There shall be a Sachem elected for the term of three years, and five Counsellors for the term of one year. One of the Counsellors shall be chosen by the Sachem and Counsellors a Secretary, whose duty it shall be to keep all the acts and proceedings of the Councils, and generally do such writing of a public nature as be required by the Sachem and Counsellors; and in consequence of the death, resignation or necessary absence of the Sachem, one of the Counsellors who received the highest number of votes, shall execute all the power and perform all the duties of the Sachem, during the vacancy occasioned by the resignation, death or necessary absence of the said Sachem. And in case of the death or resignation of a Counsellor, the Sachem shall by notice, either in writing or otherwise, appoint a time and place to elect another in his stead to serve for the residue of the term. The Sachem and the two others who had received the highest number of votes for Counsellors, shall constitute the high court of the nation.

Article VII.

A Treasurer, two Peace makers, two Path Masters and one Sheriff, shall be elected annually on the day of election, and their powers and duties shall be prescribed by law.

Article VIII.

The general election shall be held on the first Tuesday of January annually, and it shall be the duty of the Secretary to give notice of the day of election, by posting up notices in two or three of the most public places of the town at least six days before the day of election.

Article IX.

The election shall be by ballot.

Article X.

The election shall be opened between the hours of nine and ten o'clock in the forenoon and shall be kept open until four o'clock in the afternoon.

Article XI.

The Legislative Council and High Court of the Nation shall be held at such time as shall be provided by law.

Article XII.

The Sachem and the five Counsellors or a majority of them, shall adopt such of their original laws, criminal and civil, as may be necessary and best suited to the circumstances of the tribe. They also shall have the authority to make other laws in all cases for the good government of the tribe, not repugnant to any of the articles herein enumerated.

Article XIII.

Bill of Rights.

SECTION 1.—All men are born equally free and independent. All power is inherent in, and all government of right originates with the people, is founded in their authority and instituted for their peace, safety and happiness.

SECTION 2.—The people shall at all times have the right in a peaceable manner to assemble together to consult for the common good.

SECTION 3.—Excessive bail shall not be required. Excessive fines shall not be imposed and cruel and unjust punishment shall not be inflicted.

SECTION 4.—No person shall be deprived of his liberty or property, but by the judgment of his part or the law of the Nation; should the public exigencies make it necessary for the common preservation, to take any person's property or to demand his particular services, full compensation shall be made for the same.

Article XIV.

The Sachem, Counsellors, Treasurer, Peace Makers, Path Masters and Sheriff shall, before they enter upon the duties of their respective offices, take and subscribe the following affirmation: I do solemnly affirm that I will support the constitution and laws of this nation and that I will faithfully discharge the duties of the office of ——— according to the best of my ability.

Article XV.

Immediately after the signing of the articles herein enumerated, the Council will proceed to elect two or three inspectors for the election of such officers as are required in the foregoing articles by

ballot, and who shall act in that capacity to all intents and purposes therein, during the term in which they are elected.

As witness our names and marks, the day and year above written.

JEREMIAH SLINGERLAND.

JOHN W. QUINNEY, JR.

ZIBA T. PETERS.
JOHN (X) YOCCUM.
HUMBLE JOURDEN.
CORNELIUS M. ANTHONY.
DANIEL (X) GARDNER.
JACOB (X) KONKAPOT.
TIMOTHY (X) JOURDEN.
ELI WILLIAMS.
HARVEY (X) JOHNSON.
JOHN P. HENDRICKS.
JACOB JACOBS.
JEREMIAH SLINGERLAND
CORNELIUS LITTLEMAN.
CORNELIUS (X) YOCCUM.
AARON KONKAPOT.
GEORGE T. BENNETT.
ALEXANDER (X) WILBER.
DANIEL TOUCEY.
JOHN W. QUINNEY, JR.
MOSES (X) SMITH.
JASPER (X) BENNETT.
STEPHEN GARDNER.
BENJAMIN (X) PYE, THIRD.
PAUL W. QUINNEY.
LEVI S. (X) KONKAPOT.
LEVI (X) HALF TOWN.
JEFFERSON (X) HALF TOWN.
DOC. (X) BIG DEER.
JESSE M. JOURDON.
JOSEPH L. CHICKS.
JOHN N. CHICKS.
ADAM DAVIDS.
CORNELIUS AARON.
WILLIAM GARDNER.
JEDEDIAH WILBER.
EDWARD (X) BOWMAN.
ISAAC DURKEE.
JONATHAN (X) WATERMAN
P. D. LITTLEMAN.
DENNIS T. TURKEY.
JOHN (X) LEWIS.
WILLIAM (X) HIGH FLY.

[Of course the attempt has been made to reproduce faithfully the transcript of the constitution given me. This accounts for the two spellings of the name declared to be that of the reservation,—a name seldom used but worthy of practical adoption. The "s" in "confederations" in the preamble may be a mis-reading.

The government established by this constitution has lapsed. In reality "Mohheconnuk" is governed by the United States Indian agent. The practical socialism of the system which he administers seems to be a failure.]

ADDENDA.

The Bible of which mention is made on page seven contains the following inscription:

This with another volume, containing the Holy Bible, is the pious gift of the Reverend Doct. Francis Ayscouth, [Clerk of the Closet to His Royal Highness Frederick, Prince of Wales],

To the use of the Congregation of Indians, at or near Housatonic, in a vast wilderness, part of New England; who are, at present, the voluntary Care, and Instruction, of the Learned and Religious Mr. John Sergeant, and is to remain to the use of the Successors of those Indians from generation to generation; as a testimony of the said Doctor's Great Regard for the Salvation of their souls—and is over and above other Benefits, which he most cheerfully obtained for the encouragement of said Mr. Sergeant, and in favor of the said Indians,

At the Request of their hearty Friend and Well Wisher,

THOMAS CORAM.

London, the 31st day of December, 1745.

It is my impression that Captain Coram was in England as soliciting agent for the Stockbridge "charity school." Accordingly I cherish his memory with feelings of mournful and sympathetic interest. Then as now the greater part of the money needed to establish institutions of higher education must needs be provided by the lobbyist or the solicitor.

Gideon Hawley, whose name occurs on page thirteen deserves somewhat more of mention than is there given him. He graduated at Yale in 1749. He dated his service at Stockbridge from the 5th of February, 1752. His work there seems for the most part to have been among "Mohawks, Oneidas and Tuscaroras from Kanajoharry and Onohoghwage." He preached to them and taught their

children. In September, 1752, he visited the Iroquois in New York. Apparently he determined to establish a mission among them. Of his second departure from Stockbridge to New York he writes: "It was on Tuesday, May 22nd, 1753, when Mr. Woodbridge, myself and company set out from Stockbridge for the Indian country. Our departure upon so great an errand as the planting of Christianity in the wilderness about an hundred miles beyond any settlement of Christian people drew the attention of the whole town. And the Rev. Mr. Edwards, his wife and others accompanied us a considerable distance into the words toward Kinderhook." The end of their journey seems to have been Onohquaga † on the Susquehannna.

These men found among the Indians a wish for a prohibitory liquor-law. Mr. Woodbridge represents ‡ Indians as desiring to say to the governor, "My brother, I would have you tell the great men at Albany, Skenectetee and Skohary § not to bring us any more rum."

Mr. Hawley's stay in New York could not have been a long one. "I was ordained in the Old South meeting-house (Boston) 31st July, 1754." Immediately thereafter he removed again to Stockbridge. After he was driven from this place by Colonel Williams's machinations he labored, according to E. W. B. Canning, among the Indians in New York until the outbreak of the Revolutionary War. Then he served as chaplain in the colonial army. Died at the age of eighty years, 1807, October 3d.

As Jonathan Edwards has been again mentioned, we may here give the date of the dismissing council at Northampton: 1750, ~~January 20th.~~ † He was installed at Stockbridge 8th of August, 1751. The council by which he was advised to go to Princeton met 1758, January 4th.

Under date of 1890, July 3d, Miss Sarah E. Marsh expressly states, doubtless from information derived through her father, that Metoxen and his party from Indiana came to Green Bay in 1822.

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† NOTE.—Doubtless the "Onohoghwage" named above.

‡ NOTE.—In a letter to Governor Sir William Johnson, dated at Albany, 1753, June 26th.

§ NOTE.—Schenectady and Skoharie.

† June 22d (July 3d).

She mentions also a Munsee pagan family who came from New York that same year. It is not likely that they came alone. We may conclude then that, as Mr. Ellis says, a party of emigrants did come from New York that autumn. † The family that Miss Marsh mentions became Christians. They took the name of Scott. After the early death of their son Cosen, who was converted in 1837, Mr. Marsh, deeply moved by the young man's religious experience, made it the subject of a published narrative.

It may have been noticed that the Indian church and mission of early years in Wisconsin are sometimes spoken of as Congregational and sometimes as Presbyterian. Doubtless the church was originally Congregational. In New York it may have become connected, according to the "plan of union" with some presbytery. We have seen what was its relationship here. It was successively connected with the Madison and Winnebago local conventions. At the organization of the former, 1846, November 17th, it was represented by Austin E. Quinney as delegate. Rev. Jesse Miner is spoken of as a Presbyterian by his daughter, and such was Mr. Marsh's denominational preference also. For he was one of those who in the autumn of 1851 helped organize the (new school) presbytery of Columbus.

Of the removal to the present Stockbridge reservation Mrs. Slingerland wrote (1891, January 6th): "My husband and I came here in 1857, in February. We were on the road with sleighs two days, the 14th and 15th. The rest of the tribe came as they could. The last came two years after the treaty was made. From dates which I have we had been here some six or seven years before the Methodist church was organized, in 1863-4. But from the time we came we met together for Sabbath services every Sabbath and for Thursday prayer meetings. * * * * The Methodist church continued until the present Presbyterian church was organized."

Mr. Slingerland was ordained by the presbytery of Winnebago probably about the time the church was reorganized under the present form. "For thirty years," his wife wrote, "we enjoyed the

† See page twenty-two.

training of the children, not only in the sciences but in moral and religious principles. Mr. Slingerland would teach the school from New Year's day to the last of April. Then I would take the school until Christmas." Thus Mrs. Slingerland wrote under date of 1890, September 19th.

Mr. Slingerland was born, 1818, February 6th. His father was a white man, his mother a Muh-he-ka-ne-ew. The son was educated at Dartmouth. Owing to the fact that he was an Indian he probably received, both there and at Bangor, more attention than was good for him. It is said that he was somewhat of a ladies' pet. At the time of his marriage in 1852, himself and wife were members of the church of Neenah. † Whether or not he ever made that place his home I do not know. Were his good wife living,—she died last year in Minnesota,—it would perhaps grieve her to have me leave unsaid some of the things she so sincerely believed concerning him. And I dare not say that she did not have good reasons for her belief. Mr. Slingerland died 1884, June 5th.

Miss Quinney, Wisconsin's first school mistress, ‡ was educated at Clinton, New York, and at Cornwall, Connecticut. At the latter place she spent six years. It was in 1828 that she began to teach the mission school at Statesburg,—probably, as I have said, the first free school in Wisconsin.

"The Hon. E. S. Miner of Necedah, § one of her pupils, says that she was a better teacher than the average of teachers to-day. Her methods, many of them, were similar to those of the present day. The pupils were mostly Indian children, but the language used was English. Daboll and Smith's arithmetic, Webster's spelling book, the old English reader, Columbian orator and Woodbridge's geography were her text books. There was no Wisconsin then, all Michigan on both sides of the lake. The Indians were poor in mathematics, but excelled in penmanship. She rarely

† NOTE.—Congregational at first, now Presbyterian.

‡ NOTE.—In this same year, according to Secretary R. G. Thwaites, a Miss Caroline Russell taught at Shantytown, an early settlement whose site is near the present city of Green Bay.

§ NOTE.—Son of Rev. Jesse Miner and member (1871-2) of the Wisconsin senate.

whipped; opened her school with prayer. It was modeled after the best public schools of New England at that time. The school was in connection with a Presbyterian mission. She refused to marry the sheriff of Brown county; too proud to marry a white man, she married an Indian minister, and lived to a good old age in Wisconsin. Sixty-three years finds great improvements in the school system of Wisconsin, but whether a child at present gets any better knowledge of the elementary branches during the first ten years of his life than he did then is doubted."

To the above, from the "Door county Advocate," may be added paragraphs from an article † by Superintendent Henry Severin of New Holstein, Calumet county:

"Miss Quinney was highly respected by the whites, and moved in their best society at Fort Howard. She married Daniel Adams, a Methodist clergyman. Mr. Adams was a Mohawk Indian, and at that time a missionary to the Oneidas, and is spoken of as a pious and intelligent man. With him she removed to Missouri, where he became pastor to a band of Senecas. After his death she became the wife of a Cherokee editor, with whom, after some years, she returned to her farm in Stockbridge, which her son ‡ has lately sacrificed in order to push a claim that his kinsmen believe they have against the United States. Here she died about eight years ago.

"About one mile north of the little village of Stockbridge on the east shore of Lake Winnebago, is a small graveyard. In the midst of monuments telling of sachems and other notables of the Stockbridges, is a little mound of turf with a few scanty flower bushes upon it: it covers the remains of Electa Quinney, Wisconsin's First Teacher." §

In connection with this subject of early schools the second note on page twenty-seven contains certain errors. Thomas S. Johnson of Onondago, New York, was probably the first man who taught school at Green Bay and so the first to teach within the present

† NOTE.—Wisconsin Journal of Education, December, 1891.

‡ NOTE.—John Clark Adams.

§ NOTE.—"She was born," Mr. Severin says, "about eighty-seven years ago. * * * * First taught school among the Indians in New York."

limits of Wisconsin. His agreement with those who became his patrons was "to teach reading, writing, arithmetic and the English language, during the space of nine months from this date" (the 10th of November, 1817).†

The slaves whom the writer had in mind were brought by a Mr. Goodell to Green Bay and hidden there in the belfry of the church by Pastor and Mrs. Porter. That was probably in 1855. See page forty-five.

The "six wars" were Queen Anne's, King George's, the French and Indian, the Revolution, the second war with Britain and the pro-slavery rebellion. See page forty-five.

The use of the Gregorian calendar was legally established in Great Britain and her colonies by enacting that the day following the 2nd of September, 1752, should be accounted the 14th of that month. In speaking of Dr. Bellamy's letter I should have said that the date thereof is probably new style, not old.‡

A story told by Mrs. Benson needs no comment: An Indian, having been refused credit for whisky, filled his jug with water and rowed past where Mr. Marsh was standing on the lake shore. The good missionary entreated the Indian to pour out the (supposed) whisky, and finally offered him a dollar if he would do so. This the Indian did and, as the water had not taken the smell of whisky from the jug, Mr. Marsh was deceived and paid the dollar. With the money the Indian returned to the saloon keeper and got for cash what he could not get on credit.

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† NOTE.—Of Jacobs or, rather, "J. Bte. S. Jacobs," as he wrote his name,—the "S." being for Ste., or St.,—I feel certain of little save that morally and otherwise he was totally unfitted to be a teacher.

‡ NOTE.—Other errata should be mentioned: "These" for "those," introduction, page xiv, twelfth line; "Thackeray" for the mis-spelling on page seven; "whoever" for "wherever," page sixteen, second note; and the corrected possessive "Chicks's" on page forty. "York money," says Professor A. L. Perry, "was issued at an avowed discount of twenty-five per cent." See page *eight.*

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